

brooke & some at home growing for the same
S. Haddox off A TRVE,

SINCERE AND MO- DEST DEFENCE, OF ENGLISH CATHOLIQVES THAT SVFFER FOR THEIR Faith both at home and abroad: against a false, se- ditionous and flanderous Libel intituled;

THE EXECVTION OF IYSTICE IN ENGLAND.

Wherin is declared, how vniustlie the Protestants doe charge
Catholiques with treason; how vnrulie they deny their
persecution for Religion; and how deceitfullie they seek
to abuse strangers about the cause, greatnes, and maner
of their sufferinges, with diuers other matters
pertaining to this purpose.

To be read
Service of God,  and used for y^e
the peace of Elizabeth
for No other purpose. Or 

Psal. 62.

Vt obstruatur os loquentium iniqua.

That the mouth may be stopped of such as speake vniustlie,

Psal. 49.

Os tuum abundauit malitia, & lingua tua concinnabat dolos.

Thy mouth hath abounded in malice, and thy tongue hath
coninglie framed lies.

The Content is in the Ende: ~





THE PREFACE TO THE READER.



LEET the late pamphlet, intituled *The execution of Iustice*, put forth in diuers languages, for defence or excuse of the violent proceeding against Catholiques in England, and for accusation as wel of them at home as of vs their felowes in faith abroad, passing forth without priuilege and name ether of writer or printer (euen thence where such matter is speciallie currant, and might easilie haue bene authorized): & mouing indiscret, odious, and dangerous disputes of estate, replenished with manifest vntruthes, open slaunders of innocent persons, and namelie with immodest malediction and seditious motions against the cheefe Bishop, the Prince of Gods people; though (I say) it might rightlie haue bene reputed an infamous Libel, ether to be contemned, or with such freedome of speech refelled, as that maner of writing doth deserue: yet considering the matter, meaning, and phrase therof to be agreable to the humour and liking of some in authoritie; and the booke not onlie not suppressed (as diuers others of that argument seeming ouer simple to the wiser Protestants, of late haue bene) but often printed, much recommended, diligentlie diuulged, and sought to be priuileged in * forreine places, where for shame they durst not publicuelie allowe it at home: yea, and in a maner thrust into the handes of strangers, and therefore like to proceed (though in close sort) from authoritie: we are forced, and in truth verie wel contented and glad it hath pleased God to giue this occasion, or rather necessitie, to yeeld (for the answer of the said booke) our more particular accompt, in the behalf of our Catholique brethren dead and aliue, at home and in banishment.

Which we wil doe sincerlie as in the sight of *Christ Iesus* the iust iudge of the world, and al his *Saints*: in such humble, milde, and temperate maner, as becometh our profession, and

*The causes
of ans-
were.*

** In France.*

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the audience: which audience we craue with teares of the whole Church and Christian world, and of al that are placed in power and sublimitie ouer vs in our owne Countrie or els where: that so our cause may be discerned both by God and man; and our vnspeakable calamities, ether by the intercession of manie, releued; or by the general compassion of al our faithful brethré, made to vs more tollerable. Loth we are, and odious it may be compted to speake in such matter as must needs in some sort touch our superiours: but Gods truth and mans innocencie are priuileged, and may in humble seemelie wise be defended, against whomsoeuer. And our pen (God willing) shalbe so tempered herein, that it shal displease no reasonable reader, nor surelie skarce them (if it may be) against whom in our inculpable defence we are forced to write.

*Examples
of vvri-
ting apolo-
gies for in-
nocencie.*

*The Prote-
stants stile.*

We haue in this case examples inough of Christian modestie in the ancient apologies of holie Fathers in Christ his Church; as of *S. Iustin, Tertulian, Athanasius, Hylarius* and other, writing to their Princes, that persecuted ether by error or infidelitie, the faithful people. Whos stile and steppes so long as we folowe, we shalbe blameles in the sight of al wise and good men; and offed none, to whom the plaine truth it self is not odious. As on the other side, we haue in our aduersaries late bookes, for immodest railing, contemptuous phrased, slanderous speech, blasphemous wordes, false, reprochful, seditious matter, and al dishonest scurrilitie, what to abhorre and detest, and what to auoide in thes our writings; which we would haue most vnlike theirs, and not onelie allowable to our frendes, but (if it were possible, and so pleased our merciful Lord to giue vs grace in their sight) not ingrateful to our persecutours: whos saluation (as Christ knoweth) we seeke in al thes our endeouours, together with the maintenance of truth, more then our owne defence and purgation.

Wherupon otherwise, for our owne onelie honour and interest, we would not so formallie stand, against so honorable aduersaries in this world; if we thought ether their hartes (which are in Gods handes) were not vpon euident reason and remonstrance of our innocencie, inclinable to mercie and better consideration of their owne state and ours: or that their accusation of vs afflicted Catholiques, were not ioined to the general reprehension of the whole Church and the principal pastours therof; whom by the lawe of our Christian religion we ought to respect more then our owne liues; and in causes of our soule and conscience, to obey aboue anie earthlie Prince, by what other obligation so euer we be bound vnto him.

And as we would gladlie passe in this our answer, with such
equa-

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equabilitie and indifferencie, that in defence of the spiritual power (which by our aduersaries importunitie, we are driuen in maner against our wils to treat of) we might not iustlie offend the temporal, acknowledging in diuers respects al humble dutie to them both: so writing nothing that anie man shalbe able to proue vnttrue ether in fact or faith; we trust in the readers equitie, be he Catholique or Protestant, that in so faultles and necessarie a defence of our selues, and of our Superiours, as also of the common cause of our Christian faith and conscience, he wil not iudge our writing seditious, flanderous or infamous libelling (as the nameles author of this inuectiue, against whom we treat, vnchristianlie and vncourteouslie calleth other our brethrens bookes) recording onelie the heauie persecution, torments and deathes of Catholiques, in such simple, plaine and sincere sort, as indeed al thinges were done: *The bookes and so as no man liuing can trulie ether charge the reporters of of English fiction or falshood, or of anie euil intention of diffaming to persecution strangers their superiours dealings, in making relation of our most true. deare Countries most doleful calamities. For the thinges there done dailie in publique, cannot otherwise be hidden from the world: and seing they are passed by lawe and order of pretended iustice, ther can be no cause why them selues should mislike the diuulging therof; except they acknowledge in their conscience some iniquitie, and dishonorable defect in their proceedings, against the most innocent persons whom daily they torment and make away.*

We are not so peruerslie affected (God be praised) as purposelie to dishonour our Prince and Countrie, for whos loue in Christ, so manie haue so meeklie lost their liues: or to reueale their turpitude, which we would rather couer (if it were possible) from the eyes of the world with our owne blood: but we set forth the truth of al thes actions, for the honour of our nation, which otherwise to her infinite shame and reproche, would be thought wholie and generallie to haue reuolted from the Catholique faith, and consented to al the absurdities and iniquities of this new regiment and religion, if none with zeale and extreme indeuour resisted such pernicious innouations. Wher now as wel our owne people, as al strangers in the Christian world, perceauing the disorder to proceed but of the partialitie of a few powerable persons abusing her Maiesties clemencie and credulitie; doe glorifie our Lord God, that in so great a tentation, al the Cleargie in maner, and so manie of the lairie of al sortes constantlie persist in their fathers faith, to the losse of goods, landes, liues, honours, and what soeuer besides: and that the whole state (excepting the authoritie of the

The true causes of publishing our miseries.

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Prince) may yet be rather counted Catholique , then heretical: this is the honour of our nation in al places , which otherwise (for dooble reuolt and recidiuatiō into Schisme, and for extreme persecution) would be compted remediles , hopeles , and of al other places most infamous.

See S. Cy-
prian.

Secondlie; we set forth thes thinges for the memorie and honour of such notable Martirs , as haue testified the truth of the Catholique faith by their pretious death. Which was an ancient Canon and custome of the primitiue Church , which appointed certaine special persons of skil and learning , to note the daies of euerie ones glorious confession and combat , that their memories might afterward be solemlie celebrated for euer among Christians.

See S. Ba-
file.
Epist. 69.
& 70.

Thirddie; we doe it to communicate our calamities with our brethren in faith, and the Churches of other prouinces standing free from this miserie , both for their warning , and our comfort , and to excite in them Christian compassion towardes vs ; that therbie and by their counsel and praiers , we may find mercie and releef at Gods hand: by the example of the Oriental Churches afflicted by the *Arrians* , which as we may read in *S. Basile* , in their like distresses , made their general complaints by often letters and messingers , to the west Churches , standing more entire and void of that Heresie and persecution.

Oratione in
laude Ca-
saris.

Finallie; we are forced to publish thes thinges so particulie and diligentlie , to defend the doings of the said holie Confessors and their felowes in faith , against the manifold slaunders and calumniations of certaine Heretiques or Politiques , vniustlie charging them with treason , and other great trespasses against the Common-wealth , to auert the eyes of the simple from the true causes of their suffering ; and to disapoint the holie personages (if they could) of the honour done to Martirs in Gods Church. For , that is one special cause among manie , why they had rather make them away for forged treason , or other feigned offences , then for profession of the truth ; which in their hart they hate more then anie crime in the world. *S. Gregorie Nazianzene* liuelie expresth the condition of al Heretiques , in the behauiour of *Iulianus the Apostata* , thus writing of him : He openlie and boldlie professing impietie , yet by coulor of clemencie covered his crueltie ; and lest vve should attaine to the honours done customablie to Martirs (vvhich he disdeined to the Christians) he vsed namelie this fraude and deceit , that such as he caused to be tormented for Christs cause , should be thought and reported to be punished not for their faith , but as malefactours.

For discouerie therefore of this sinful and deceitful dealing

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ling of our aduersaries (who not contented with the death and torments of Gods Saints, would punish them by ignominie after their life) we are driuen to this dutiful office of their and the holie Churches defence; whos honour and innocencie we may not bewray for a thousand deathes.

Wherin we are not much terrified by the vaine and vulgar exordium of the Author of this inuectiue which we now must refute: who beginneth aboue al arte (after their maner) with a common sentence, as meet for vs and our matter, as for him and his cause: telling vs, that it is a common vse of al offendours, and speciallie rebels and traitors, to make defence of their leud and vnlaufull factes, by couering their deedes with pretence of other causes. Which speech, as it might be vsed where anie such trespassse could be proued; so is it fondlie said where no crime can be auouched: as in the processe of this treatise, shalbe (by Gods grace) most clearlie conuincd. And it might not onelie be applied by the olde heathen or heretical persecutors, against the first *Apostles* and *Martirs* of *Christ*, being falslie charged with the same crimes as we be now, and answered for them selues, as we doe: but may much more be verified and found in publique persons and common-wealthes, when they erre or commit iniquitie, then in anie poore, priuate, or afflicted persons, be they neuer so guiltie. For Princes and communities in disorder haue a thousand pretences, excuses, and coulers, of their iniust actions: they haue the name of authoritie, the shadowe of lawes, the pennes and tongues of infinite at their commaundement: they may print or publish what they like, suppress what they list: wherof priuate men, be they neuer so wicked or good, haue not so great commoditie.

For examples we need not to goe farre out of our owne Countrie and memorie. For, when *Richard* the third, intending to vsurpe the Crowne of *England*, slew diuers of the Nobilitie first most cruelly, and afterward murdered vnnaturallie his owne innocent nephewes: what solemne Libels, proclamations, orations, were put forth to iustifie his abominable iniquitie? When the last Duke of *Northumberland*, for the like ambitious purpose, would haue disabled and defeated traiterouslie, both the noble daughters of his owne Soueraigne and Maister; and by the title of his daughter in lawe, possessed him self of the Crowne: what a number of pamphlets and edicts were published on the sodaine, for coloring of that foule treacherie and intollerable treason? When *Orange* and his confederats revolted not long since, from their natural Prince; the Scottish Heretiques from their laufull Soueraigne, and other Prouinces for the same cause, from the vnitie and common faith of the

The Libellers vaine and vulgar Exordium.

States Princes and common-wealthes haue more pretences for couering their misdeedes then priuate men.

Richard Duke of Glocester.

John Dudley Duke of Northumberland.

Orange.

Iamy, Morton, &c.

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Church; who hath not sœne the infinite Libels for their excuse in wickednes? That therfore, that may sometimes fal in priuate mens causes for couering their sinne and shame, happeneth farre oftener and much more dangerousslie in powerable and publique persons. And so it maketh no more against vs, then this writer him self, whether he hath published his Libel by authoritie (as he wil not seeme) or of his owne peculiar head and affection, which rather we are content to suppose.

How soeuer it be, we wilbe bould to examine in the treatise folowing, with such modesty and indifferency as is requisite in Gods cause, his whole reprehension: and in the meane time til he can proue vs, or our brethren guiltie of anie crime, other then the exercise and profession of the Catho-

Ioan. 10. 32

Act. 23. 6.

Act. 28.

20.

lique faith: we wil say with our Sauour, *De*

bono opere lapidamur; and with the Apostle,

De spe & resurrectione mortuorum in-

dicamur, & propter spem Israel

his catenis circunda-

ti sumus.





T H A T

MANY PRIESTS

AND OTHER CATHOLIQVES

IN ENGLAND HAVE BENE PERSECVTED,
condemned, and executed, for mere matter of religion: and for
transgression onelie of new statutes which doe make cases
of Conscience to be treason, without al pretence or sur-
mise of any old treasons or statutes for the same.

C A P. I.



Ow to the principal pointes of
the Libel: we first affirme that
the verie front or title therof,
(importing that no Catholikes
at al, or none of them whom
they haue executed, were per-
secuted for their religiō) is a ve-
rie notorious vntruth, and con-

tradictorie to the libellers owne wordes in his dis-
course following where he confesseth vnderhand, *A manifest falshood with contradiction to themselves.*
that some be corrected otherwise for religion: or (yf they
wil stand in the cōtrarie) we appeale to the conscien-
ce and knowledge of al the Catholikes and protestan-
tes within the Realme, who of their equitie wil ne-
uer denie, that most prisons in England be ful at this
daye, and haue bene for diuers yeares, of honorable
and honest persons not to be touched with anie trea-
son, or other offence in the world, other then their
profession and faith in Christian religion.

Secondlie we say & shal clearlie cōvince, that con-
trarie to the poursute of the same libel, a number haue
bene also tormented, arreigned, condemned and exc-

A

cuted, for mere matter of Religion, and vpon the transgression of new statutes onelie, without anie relation to the olde treasons, so made and set doune by Parliament in Edward the thirde tyme: by which they vnrulie auouche al our brethren were conuicted.

M. Mayne.
A^o. Dom.
1577.

And herein to deale particularlie and plainlie, we alleage the woorthie Preeft and Bachelar of diuinitie M. Cuthberte Mayne (who suffred a glorious Martyrdome at Lanson in the prouince of Cornewale, for that the case or couer onelie of an Agnus Dei, and a printed copie of that Bul now expired which denounced to the christian world the last Iubilie, were found about him) condemned not by anie olde lawes, (as is deceitfullie pretended to abuse the simple of owre owne nation, and straungers that knowe not our lamentable condition) but by a late statute enacted the 13. yeare of the Q. reigne, which maketh it highe treason to bring from Rome, anie beades, sacred pictures, Agnus Deis, Buls or (as the expresse wordes of the said statute are) *any vveryting or instrument vveryten or printed, conteining any thing, matter or cause vwhat so euer*: by which wordes they may condemne a man to death as guiltie of highe treason though he bring from Rome but letters testimonial for a trauailers credit and commendation in iorney: a thing vnhard of in al ages, not credible to forrayners, and a fable to the posteritie, or rather a warning to the world to come, into what miserie and barbarousnesse a kingdome that forsaketh the Church, may be brought vnto. And an honorable gentleman of an ancient familie, for onelie receyuing the said blessed Preeft into his house, remaineth condemned at this daye to perpetual prison and hath lost both landes and goodes of greate importance for that fact.

M. Trugio.

A^o. Dom.

Lykewise Thomas Sherwood a lay man indited
adiud.

adiudged and put to death, for questions of the Q. supremacy in causes spiritual, and other articles made capital by the new lawes onelie, two yeares at the least before this fiction of conspiracie against the realme, or person of the Princes, was made or heard of. The same yeare was a reuerend Preist named M. Iohn Nelson condemned and executed for affirming (being driuen therunto by the cōmissioners captious interrogatories) the Q. religion to be heretical and schismatical: which is made death not by the olde lawes of the realme, nor by anie other of anie christiā countrie, but onelie by a statute made in the saide 13. yeare of the Q. reigne: prouiding by a special clause, *that none shal affirme her Maiestie that now is* (for it holdeth not in other Princes cases to come) *to be an heretique or schismaticque vnder paine of incurring highe treason and death.*

1578.
At Londo.
M. Sher-
wood.

M^o. 1578
At Londo,
M. Nelson,

After thes, M. Eurarde Hanse was indited and so condemned to death (which he constantlie suffered,) onelie vpon a statute made in the last parliamēt of al (by which it is made a crime capital *to perswade any man to the catholike religion*) into the compasse of which lawe, they violentlie drew the blessed man by calumnious interpretation of his speeches, when he affirmed (being vrged therunto) that the Pope was his superiour in causes spiritual, *and had in such matters spiritual as good right, as he euer had in England, or hath at this day in Rome*: for which wordes though inforced from hym, he was ther presently, indited, arraigned, and condemned to death, and soone after most cruelly executed, whose case together with that of M. Nelson which goeth before, declareth what truth is in this libeller who writeth here in one place. *That none are for their contrarie opinions in religion persecuted or charged vwith anie crimes or paines of treason, nor yet vvil- lingly serched in their consciences for their contrary opinions,*

M^o. 1581
At Londo,

And againe within a leafe after he repeateth the same vntruth saying: *Without charging them in their consciences or otherwise by any inquisition, to bring them into danger of Capital law, so as no one was called into anie capital or bloodie question vppon matters of religion, but haue al inioyed their life as the cours of nature would.*

M. Lacie.

Here may be named also M. William Lacye a worshipful gentilman, who was condemned to death not long since at Yorke, for that he confessed he had obtained a dispensation for Bigamie of the Popes holinesse to be made Priest, and that according to the same dispensatiō he was made Priest, either of which pointes by their late lawes of religiō are deadlie: And the latter pointe they make treason forsooth by this strange sequele, that when men take holie orders in the Catholike church, they giue their othe of obedience to the Pope, who is a forreine enimie to her Maiestie and to the Realme as thes men affirme: and could the world weene, we were insuche thraldome of this barbarous heresie? With this man was M. Kirkman an happie Priest also martyred, for that he acknowledged him-self to haue reconciled certaine

M. Kirkman.

M. Thomson.

M. Hart.

M. Threlkeld.

persons to the Catholike church. For which likewise were put to death M. Thomson, M. Harte, and M. Threlkeld afterward, in the same citie of Yorke, neuer charged nor suspected of anie other treasons, then of hearing Confessions, absolving and reconciling sinners to the fauor of God and to the vnitie of the Catholique church againe: which both in the Priest that absolue, and in the partie that is absolved, they haue made to be the crime of les-Maiestie vnder this false and most vniust pretēce, that al parties so reconciled, are assoiled of ther obedience to the Q, and doe adhere to her enimie, and admit forreine iurisdiction, power and authoritie, which is exercised in Confession for remission of sinnes.

Thes

Thes be the treasons and none other for which the blood of Gods Priests is so abundantlie shed in our poore countrie thes yeares.

Addē to thes the two famous confessors, M. Iohn Slade, and M. Iohn Bodie, who both by certaine interrogatories being driuen to say their mindes touching the Q. challenge of supreme regiment ecclesiastical, (contrarie to the asseueration of this libeller set downe before) for confessing their faith of the Popes spiritual soueraigntie, and for denying her to be head of the church of England, or to haue anie spiritual regiment: were cōdemned to death in publique iudgement at two diuers sessions, and that at twise, (a rare case in our countrie) the latter sentence being to reforme the former (as we may gesse in such strange proceedinges) which they perceiued to be erroneous and insufficient in ther owne lawes. Wherupon one of them was executed at Winchester, th' other at Andouer in the same prouince: being neuer charged with disloyaltie or olde treasons, as not onelie by the recordes of their arraignment and condemnation we are able to prooue, but also by their owne speeches, and by the whole action of ther Martyrdome, which is put in print by one of their owne protestantes that was present, and is witnessed by thousandes of others, that both heard & saw their deathes and iudgement. I wil (for examples sake) alleage some thing out of the said printed pamphlet of that which was said vnto them by the enimie at their martyrdome. *Confesse your fault* (saith one of the cheefe* gentlemē and ministers of execution ther present) *for satisfaction of the vvorld, in the cause of your death*: to which the holie confessor I. Bodie answered, after protestation of his loyaltie in temporal thinges: *Yovv shall vnderstand (quoth he) good people, that I suffer death for denying her Maiestie to be Supreme head of Christes church in England in causes eccle-*

A^o. 1583.

M. Slade.

M. Bodie.

The booke
is intituled:
The Seue-
ral executi-
ons of Slade
and Bodie
&c. imprim-
ted in Lon-
don, by Ri-
chard Iones
1583.

*Sir VV.
Kingsmel.

siastical: other treasons, except they make hearing the holie Masse, or saying, Ave Maria, treason, I haue comitted none. So his happie companion M. Slade condemned for the same onelie cause, was thus spoken vnto in the houre of his agonie, by one doctor Bennet a great minister of ther new congregation: *let not the Pope (saith he) that vnworthie Priest be preferred before thine ouune natural Princesse, vwho is the lawfull supream head of the Church next vnder Christ.* So said this minister, by whom we may not onelie perceiue vpon what statute and treason they were executed, but also, (which in an other parte of this libel is without shame most boldlie denied,) that indeed the Q. is commōlie of protestantes called, *supream head of the Church.* So their preachers in pulpit doe founde owt daylie as al men know: and their writers in bookes dedicated to her, (as M. Bridges against doctor Saunders and D. Stapleton: and others) doe tearme her expresse. Wherof the wiser sorte (as we may see by this libel) are so ashamed, that they wolde haue it giuen out (to strangers speciallie, who wonder at the monstrous title) that ther is no such thing chalenged of her, or giuen her by the new lawes of Religion in England.

The cause
why M.
Slade and
M. Bodie
were mur-
dered.

Pag. 10.

M. Bridges.

The prote-
states asha-
med of their
Head of
the church.

Pag. 10.

For which cause, and for that they had an intention streight to publishe at home and in forreine partes, that none were put to death for anie such matter of faith or religiō, they suppressed the said printed pamphlet of thes twoo mens martyrdomes, and punished the Author therof, though he wrote in that point the plaine truth as he hard and sawe, but not discretlie inough nor aggreable to the politike practise they had then in hand, which was to perswade the world, that none were put to death for their conscience, nor that the Q. chalenged anie such title of Supremacie or Headshippe ouer the Church, which later point it seemeth conuenient to the politiques

of

of our Realme to disauowe with such vehemencie in this libel, as they geue vs the manifest lye for that we reprove them of it, for thus they write: *vvhich title (of headship of the Church) the aduersaries doe most falslie vwrite and affirme, that the Q. Maiestie doth now v use, a manifest lie and vntruth, &c.* Wherefore of this matter I am inforced in this place to speake a word or two by the waye.

The truth is, that in the first yeare and Parliament of the Q. reigne, when they abolished the Popes authoritie, and wolde haue yeelded the same authoritie with the title of *Supreame head* to the Q. as it was giuen before to her Father and Brother: diuers speciallie moued by Minister Caluins writing (who had cōdemned in the same Princes that calling) liked not the tearme, and therefore procured that some other equiualent but lesse offensue, might be vsed. Vpon which formalitie, it was enacted that she was *the Cheef gouernour asuvel in causes ecclesiastical or spiritual, as civil and temporal*: And an othe of the same was conceiued accordinglie, to be tendred at their pleasures, to al the spiritual and tēporal officers in the Realme, by which euerie one must sweare that in conscience he taketh and beleeueth her so to be: and that no Priest or other borne owt of the realme, can haue or ought to haue anie maner of power in spiritual matters ouer her subiectes. Which othe is compted the verie torment of al English consciences, not the protestantes themselves beleeuing it to be trew: & of al trew catholiques, as before it was deemed in her Father a lay man, and in her Brother a childe very ridiculous: so now in herself, being a woman, is it accompted a thing most monstrous and vnnatural, and the verie gappe to bring anie Realme to the thraldome of al sectes, Heresie, Paganisme, Turcisme or Atheisme, that the Price for the time by humane frailtie may be subiect vnto: al our religion, faith, worship, seruice, and prayers,

depending vpon his foueraine determination: a thing that al nations haue to take heede of by our example, for the redresse of which pernicious absurditie, so manie of our said brethren so willinglie haue shed ther blood.

The ridiculous variety of Heretiques about the Headship of the Church.

In the first Parliamēt of her Maiesties reigne, it was indeed in a maner thrust vpon her against her wil: because otherwise ther could haue bene no colour to make new lawes for change of Religiō: and this title, of Cheefe gouernesse, was thought to be a qualification of the former tearme of Headship. But in truth it is al one with thother, or rather worse: for in some kinde of improper speach, the King may be called the Head or cheef of the Church of his countrie, for that he is foueraigne lorde and ruler of bothe persons spiritual and temporal: al sortes bound to obey his lawfull ciuil lawes and commandementes, and so in that sense is he Head of the cleargie and of al others.

But when in the new forme of our statute it is expresse and distinctlie added, that she is the onelie Supreamē gouernour euen in al causes, *as vnto Spiritual and Ecclesiastical as temporal & Ciuil*: and furthermore enacted that al iurisdiccions, priuiledges, superiorities and preeminences ecclesiastical, as by anie power spiritual haue bene or may be exercised, are taken frō the Pope, (to whom Christ gaue them in most ample maner,) and are vnited, or rather (as they say) restored by an old decree to the crowne of England: this can haue no excuse, nether trew or likelie sense in the world, making indeed a King and a Priest al one: no differēce betwixt the state of the Church and a temporal common wealth: giuing no lesse right to heathen Princes to be gouernours of the Church in causes spiritual, then to a christian king: it maketh one parte of the Church in different teritoires to be independent and seuerall from an other, according to the distinction

Absurdities that in seru vppon making the temporal prince head of the Church.

distinction of realmes and kingdomes in the world. And finallie it maketh euerie man that is not borne in the kingdome to be a forreiner also in respect of the Church: thes and a thousand absurdities and impossibilities more doe ensue, which for breuitie we omitt: onelie this which is in most mens memories we may not ouerpasse, that the verie same yeare that this new preeminence was giuen by lawe to the Q. and th'othe accordinglie ministred to many, some hauing remorse of the matter, for to auoide daunger, pretended for their refusal, that it seemed to them by the wordes of th'othe and acte, that the Q. might minister also the Sacramētes, wherunto they wolde not sweare by anie meanes.

Wherupon in her next visitation of the cleargie, a special iniunction was printed and published by her commaundement, declaring that in truth she had no such intent, and that no suche thing was implied in her title or claime of spiritual regimēt, nor no other thing, nor more then was before graunted to her father by the tearme of Supream head: requiring al her louing subiectes to receiue th'othe at least in that sense, and so it should suffice her highnesse. By which it is now cleare, by ther owne authentical declaratiō, that we speake no vntrewth (as this libeller sayth) nor abuse not the world when we say she is called and taken for the Supream head of the Church of England: albeit (the thing it self being far more absurde and of more pernicious sequele, then the makers of the law, which were mere laymē and most of them vnlearned, could then perceiue) their folowers now, would disauow the same. For this article therfore as the famous bishoppe of Rochester, Sir Thomas More, and a great number more in king Henrie the 8. his dayes: so did thos twoo last named martyrs, and diuers others before them most gladlie and constantlie

*Marke this
circle in de-
claration of
the title.*

yeld vp their lyues, and so consequentlie dyed for mere matter of religion onelie.

And to end this point, we lastlie referre the aduersarie to the late Martyr dome of Cartar a poore innocent artisan: who was made away onelie for printing a catholique booke *De schismate*: in which no worde was found against the state, the quarel onelie most vniustlie being made, vpon a certaine clause, which by no likelie honest construction could appertaine to the Q. person: *vi*z. that the Catholike religion should once haue the vpper hand of heresie, and *Judith* cutt of the head of *Holophernes*: which they in their extreame ielousie and feare of all thinges wold needes wreast against her Maiestie.

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Questions
asked of
catholiques
vppon tor-
ture.

And the place serueth here to saye some-what of the cause also of their racking of Catholiques, which they wold haue strangers belecue neuer to be done for anie point of religion. As for example, (say they, in the addition to th'end of the libel) none is asked by torture, *vvh*at he beleeueth of the Masse or Transubstantiation or *suche* like. As though (forsooth) ther were no question pertcining to faithe and religion, but touching our inward beleefe. Whereas in deed it concerneth religion no lesse to demaund and presse vs by torture, wher, in whos houses, what dayes and tymes we say or heare Masse, how manie we haue reconciled, what we haue hard in confession: who resorteth to our preachinges: who harboreth catholiques and Priestes: who susteineth, aideth, or comforteth them: who they be that haue their children or pupilles in the Societie or Seminaries beyond the seas: wher such a Iesuite or *suche* a Preist is to be found: wher catholique bookes ar printed, and by whom, and to whom they be vttered in England? which thinges being demaunded of euil intēt and to the annoyance of the Catholique cause, Godes Priestes, and innocēt men:

men: no man may by the lawe of God and nature disclose, though he be expresse commaunded by anie Prince in the world, for that God must be obeyed, more then man.

Yet thes were the Interrogatories for which the famous confessor M. Briant was tormented with needles thrust vnder his nayles, racked also otherwise in cruel sorte, and speciallie punished by two whole dayes and nightes famine, which they attribute to obstinacie, but indeed (sustained in Christes quarel) it was most honorable constancie. The like demaundes were put to the blessed martyrs Campion, Sherwin, and others vpon the torture, and of this later namelie was asked where F. Persons and Campion were, and whether he had said Masse in M. Roscarockes chamber, and what money he had giuen him. M. Thomson a venerable and learned Priest was put to tormentes onelie to get out of him to what end he kept certaine Superaltaries, and wher he entēded to bestowe them. The said yong man Cartar, of whos martyrdome we last treated, was examined vpon the racke, vpon what Gentlemen or catholique Ladies he had bestowed or intended to bestowe certaine bookes of prayers and spiritual exercises and meditations which he had in his custodie. Which may suffice to refute th'aduersaries asseueration: *that none haue bene tormented for other matter then treason.*

But the wordes of M. Thomas Cotam, vttered in sence at the barre, and thus verbatim left in writing discouereth the case more plainlie to the shame of this cruel heresie for aduancement wherof so shameful thinges be committed. Thus therfore he spake and auouched openlie in the presence of the racke masters. In-deed (quoth he) yow ar searchers of secrettes: for yow wolde needes knowe of me what penance I was enioined by my ghostlie father for my

„ finnes committed: and I acknowledge my frailtie
 „ that to auoide the intollerable torment of the racke I
 „ confessed (God forgiue me) what they demaunded
 „ therin: but when they further vrged me to vtter also
 „ what my finnes were for which that penaunce was
 „ enioined me, (a lothesome and vnchristian question)
 „ I then answered that I wolde not disclose my offen-
 „ ces sauing to God and to my ghestlie father alone.
 „ Wherupon they sore tormented me and stil pressed
 „ me with the same demaund: and I persisted that it was
 „ a most barbarous inhumane question, and that I
 „ wolde not answere though they tormented me to
 „ death. Thus spake M. Cotam at his arreignmēt, wher-
 „ with the enimies being ashamed, the Lieutenāt of the
 „ Tower ther present begā to denie the whole: wherū-
 „ to M. Cotā replied againe thus: And is not this trew?
 „ Here is present D. Hammō with the rest of the com-
 „ missioners that were at my racking, to whos conscien-
 „ ces I appeale. God is my witnesse that it is most trew,
 „ and you knowe that Sir George Carie did aske me
 „ thes vnnatural questions, denie it if you can? In truth
 „ al your torture and demaundes euerie one were of no
 „ other treasons, but matter of mere conscience, faith,
 „ and religion, or els of such folies as I haue rehearsed.

*Sir George
Carie.*

*The cruel-
tie in rac-
king Ca-
tholiques.*

As for the moderation, great pitie, and courtisie,
 which by your Libel you wold haue the world beleue
 her Maiesties ministers haue euer vsed, in giuing the
 torment to the persons aforesaid and other Catholi-
 ques: the poore innocentes haue felt it, and our Lord
 God knoweth the contrarie. And we can put you in
 remembrance, that you did it with extreame rigour
 and dispite commonlie vpon no dew presumption
 nor reasonable suspition of discouerie of anie impor-
 tant matter therby. Looke in your recordes what su-
 spicion of treasons or great matters you could haue in
 yong Sherwood, who was the first in our memorie
 that

that was put to the rack for matters of conscience, then when no man dreamed of anie thes feined new conspiracies?

See whether a portable Altare be a sufficient cause to giue the torture to a graue worshipful person not so much as suspected of treason or anie disobedience, other then in cases of conscience? Whether bookes of prayers and meditations spiritual, or the printing and spreading of them be a racke-matter in anie common wealth Christian? Looke whether your ordinarie demaundes were of that weight and qualitie, as were to be answered by cōstraint of the racke? Let the world see what one confession of treasonable matter you haue wrested out by the so often tormenting of so many, and what great secrecies touching the state (which you pretend so earnestlie to seeke for) you haue found amongst them al? No, no, nothing was ther in thos religious hartes but innocencie and true religion: it is that which you punished, tormēted, and deadlie hated in them. Yf they wold haue in the least pointe in the world condescended to your desires in that, or but once for your pleasures presented them selues at your Schismatical prayers, al racking & treasons had bene cleared and past.

Wherbie al the world seeth, you did al for religiō: not as for anie conscience that way (wherwith most of you ar not much troubled) but because the particular state of a number dependeth on this new religion. Remember whether you layd not M. Thomson on the racke, against al good vse and order, before you euer examined him? what presumptions had you so pregnant that you must racke the famous man father Campion about the Irishe commotion, or collection of monie for the maintenance of the same? or of anie knowledge he had of killing the *Greatest*, as you mistically speake in your booke? Haue you not ordinarilie Fol. 27

threatned men with the rackes and dongeons, and sometimes brought them to the racke-house doore, yea and laid some on the racke without either cause or intent to touche the, but onely by thos terrors to driue them to denie their Faith, or to confesse wher they had said masse or other like thinges which you desired to knowe?

M.Harte.

How often haue you by famine and filthie dongeons tormented the happie yong confessor M.Iohn Harte, which could not now be after his condemnation for anie thing els but for his religiō, and because he wold not yeeld to one Rainoldes a minister with whom you appointed him to confere? For what other cause did you threaten the torture to M. Osburne, but to make him confesse that he had said Masse before the true noble confessors of Christ, my L. Vaux and Sir Thomas Tressame? And which is more vntollerable, is not your racke vsed or threatned to force men by the feare therof to speake thinges against truthe by your appointment, and speciallie for false accusation of innocent gentlemen? Iohn Nichols him self a protestant and one of your owne instrumentes, hath acknowledged so muche ī publique writing, affirming that Sir Owen Hopton lieutenant of the Tower enforced him to accuse diuers gentlemen by name, of highe treason whom he neuer knew: which he did, to auoide his threatned tormentes, as he writeth.

*In his epistle to D.
Alane set
forth in
prīt.Fo.10*

*Thomson.
Borschoe.
Henslowve.
Clifton.*

We speake nothing of the pitiful extremities you haue brought diuers vnto by horrible Fetters, Stockes, Dongeons, Famine: Or of the deathe of welneare twenty happie Catholiques at once, infected and pestered in Yorke prison, wher they perished by the vnmercifulnesse of the protestantes, of whom by no pitiful complaintes they could obtaine libertie or freshe aire for the sauing their liues, without condescending to goe to their abhominable seruice. We tel

1581.

you

you not here againe that for the more affliction of Catholiques, (a thing to be marked and lamented, of al christian hartes) that you haue prophanelie made choice of Sôdaies & great Holidayes to practise your torments vpon them, after th'olde fashion of the Pagans, rather then vpon workedayes: that you bring other catholique prisoners neare to the place of torment, to heare their brethrens sorowful cries: and eftsoons leade some newlie taken from the racke vnder their fellowe prisoners windowes and to their doores, that by hearing their pitiful complaintes, sighes, and grones proceeding of infinite paines, they may relent in religion.

Most barbarous cruelties.

Of al which inhumane dealing, we wil not impeach the superiour magistrate, much lesse the Soueraigne, but surelie the inferior ministers of that pretended Iustice cannot be excused of most cruel and sacrilegions dealing towards Godes Priestes and other innocent persons. And as for the particular handling of father Campion and M. Briant (whom the libellers make examples of their milde and gentle intertainment vpon the torture) we refer al indifferent readers to the said Briants owne latine epistle of that matter. And for th'other, they say true indeed that after his first racking, and at the tyme of the protestantes disputes with him in the Tower, he was not so bereaued of his handes but he might with paine write or subscribe his name: But afterward vpon his second or third racking he was so benommed, that he could neither take the cuppe and lifte it to his mouth, nor drawe of his cusse at the barre: nor streight after his last torment, nor manie dayes following had he anie feeling or vse of his lymmes, as he confessed to his keeper asking him how he felt his handes: *Not euil* (quoth he) *for I feele them not at all.*

In the end of the booke of the persecution in England.

The like we could prooue of M. Paine the Priestes *M. Paine.*

A vvar-
ning to
other con-
tries yet
Catholique.

tormenting and diuers others: but this is inough to controlle thes shameles vntruthes of the libeller, and to make demonstration of the pitiful violēces, Slaunders and tribulations which our brethren haue constantlie borne and yet doe beare, for professiō of their Faith: which to some rebuke of our nation, we wold neuer so particularlie vtter here and els where, yf our blamelesse defence droue vs not therunto. And speciallie for that we wold christanelie giue warning to al Princes and Prouinces, that yet happilie enioye the Catholique religion and the onelie true libertie of conscience in the same, to take heed by our miseries, how they let this pernicious sect put foote into ther states: which by promis of libertie and sweetnes at the beginning, entereth deceitfullie, but when she is once in and getteth the maistery (as she often doth wher she is not in season cōstantlie resisted,) she bringeth al to most cruel and barbarous thraldome, procuring her followers to hate and persecute the Church, their owne onelie true and olde mother, far more deadlie, then the Heathens them selues doe: and turneth al the lawes made by godlie Popes and Princes for punishment of Heretiques and malefactors, to the spoile and destruction of innocēt men and Catholiques, for whos defence they were made.

Into which miserie our countrie, to vs most deare, being fallen, and hauing no other humane helpes to recouer it and our Prince and Peres (excepting this case of heresie of excellent good nature and clemencie) with millions of soules that ther doe perishe: we wil not feare nor faile to pray and aske it of God with teares and blood, as we haue begonne, *donec misereatur nostri*: til he be merciful both to vs and to our persecutors.

Our dayes of affliction cannot be long, their felicitie wil haue an end, bothe sides shal shortly haue
their

their doome: wher the dealinges of vs al shalbe trulie
discussed, and the iust shal stand with great constancie
against them that vexed them. Interim, in the testimo-
nie of a guiltlesse conscience in al thinges wherof we
be accused by our aduersaries, and in ioyful expecta-
tion of that day, we wil continew stil this worke of
God to our owne and our countries saluation; *Per*
infamiam & bonam famam, as the Apostle wil-
leth vs; and through other miseries,
what so euer mans mortalitie
is subiect vnto.



THAT F. CAMPIAN AND THE
 REST OF THE PRIESTES AND CATHO-
*liques endited, condemned, and executed, vpon pretence of
 treason, and vpon statutes made of old against trea-
 sons: vvere neuer yet guiltie of anie such cri-
 mes but vniustly made avway.*

C A P. I I.



Itherto we haue made it cleare
 that diuers (contrarie to the drift
 of this Libel) haue bene cōdem-
 ned and put to death ether with-
 out allawe, or els onelie vpon
 new lawes by which matter of
 religion is made treason. Now it
 foloweth and is next to be confi-

dered, whither such other as were accused and appea-
 ched of old treasons vppō a statute made in the dayes
 of Edward the third in the 25. yeare of his reigne,
 were indeed guiltie of anie such crimes.

*The endi-
 tement of
 F. Campia
 and the
 rest.*

The intent of that lawe is to register diuers cases
 that were to be deemed treason: in which the first and
 cheef is; to conspire or compasse the death of the
 Soueraigne, or to leuie men of armes against him, and
 therof can be by open fact conuincd. Vpon which
 special clause father Campian (good man) and his fel-
 lowe Priestes and Catholique brethren were, to the
 wonder of the world, arreigned. Namelie endited that
 at Rome and Rhemes the last daye of March and
 May in the 22. yeare of her maiesties reigne they cō-
 passed the Q. death, the subuersion of the state, and
 inuasion of the Realme: feigning (for better coloring
 of the collusion) the forsaide places, dayes, and tymes
 when this conspiracie should be contriued.

Which forgerie and false accusatiō, is now so clear-
 lie

lie discovered to al Englishmen, of anie cōsideration, protestantes and others, that for excuse of that foule sinful practise they haue set out at length to strangers, as they did with like lucke before at home, this late Libel: by which God almightie, the protector of his Saintes and our innocēcie, hath marueilouslie confounded them selues, and iustified the cause and conscience of his holie Martyrs: as by the declaration following shal appeare.

When the Politiques of our countrie, pretending to be protestantes, sawe the Catholique religion, contrarie to their worldlie wise counsels and determinations, and against their exquisite diligence and discipline, & twentie years endeuour (in which tyme they thought verelie to haue extinguished the memorie of our Fathers faith) to be reuiued in the hartes of the greatest number, noblest and honestest sort of the Realme: and that neither their strange, violent and capital lawes for the Q. spiritual superioritie against the Popes preeminence, the power of Priesthood in absolving penitents, the saying and hearing of Masse, hauing or wearing of Agnus-deis or other external signes of our societie with the Catholique Church of al tymes and nations; nor th'execution of manie by death and other penalties and punishment, according to the said lawes, wold serue, nor were of force to hold out of England the Priestes of the Societie and Seminaries; to whom Christ had giuen more Apostolike spirite, courage, zeale and successe, then of so smal a beginning was looked for: by whom the protestantes began to feare lest great alteratiō in religion, wheron they thinke their new state (that is to say) the weale of a verie few in comparison, dependeth, might ensue: they thought good by their long exercised wisdom, to alter the whole accusation from question of faith and conscience, to matter of treason. Which being

*The intent
and drift of
Politiques
in England,*

*Herof ther
was a spe-
cial procla-
mation pu-
blished in
Iulie 1580.*

resolved vpon, they went about by diuers proclama-
tions, libels, and speeches, first to make the people be-
leue that al Catholiques and speciallie Iesuistes and
such Priestes and scholars as were brought vp in the
Seminaries or Colledges out of the Realme, were
traitors. And for their better persuation gaue out one
while, that by the said Priestes and others in banish-
ment, ther was a maruelous confederatiō of the Pope,
K. of Spaine, duke of Florence and others for th'inua-
sion of the Realme. But that being shortlie proued
nothing, they feigned that the said Iesuistes and Prie-
stes were confederated with the Irish quarel; and to
giue more colour of somewhat, they sticked not to
rack father Campian extremelie for search of that
point.

But this fiction fayling, they found out an other as
foule: that the death of the Q. and diuers of the Coun-
sel was contriued (forsoth) in the Seminaries of Rome
and Remes, of which conspiracie in fin they resolved
to endite them, as they did, & pursued them to death
for the same; with such euident partialitie, default of
iustice and equitie, as was in that court (once most ho-
norable for iustice) neuer heard or read of before.

*Vagrant
discourses
of such as
accused me
of their li-
ues at the
barre.*

Such as pleaded against them to make them odious
in iudgment, discoursed (at this Libel now doth) first
of the nature and horreur of Rebellion in general,
and then of a Rebellion in the North for Reli-
gion a doosen years before, when the parties ther ac-
cused were yong boies in the schooles and vniuersi-
ties of the Realme: of the Popes Bul of excommuni-
cating the Q. a good many of years before anie of
them came ouer sea, or euer sawe Pope, Rome, or Re-
mes; yea when some of them were yet protestantes in
England: they discoursed also of the Rebellion in Ire-
land by Stukeley, Sanders & others, none of which
men, diuers ther arreigned euer saw or knew in their
lyues.

lyues. Of their being made Priests by the Popes authoritie, and of their obligation and obediēce to him being the Q. enimie: of their authoritie to absolue & reconcile in England, receiued from him; of their coming in at the same time, when they were in armes in Ireland, as though they had not entred their native countrie and exercised thos spiritual functiones seven years before, or could not then exercise them but in fauour of such as tooke armes against the Q.

And when thes generalities were vttered onelie to make them odious, and amase the hearers with thos that should haue to iudge of their guiltines or innocencie; the good Fathers and Priests, made iust exceptions against such vulgar inuectiues as could not touch them that ther stood in iudgement, more then anie other Priest or Catholique in the Realme; and manie of the pointes such, as they were sure none should haue bene arraigned of in K. Edward the thirde tyme, vpon whos statute neuertheles the enditement was pretended to be drawen: humblie praying the Iudge and bench that they wold more directlie, plainlie, and sincerelie passe on them for their Faith and exercises of the Romane religiō (for proof whereof they should not need to seeke for so impertinent and far fetcht matter;) which they openlie professed and desired to die for with al their heartes: or yf they wold needes proceed against them as for treason, in the sense of the old lawes of our Countrie; that then it wold please them to aggrauate no farther to their disaduantage and death ether other mens faultes or matter of pure Religion, but to come to the inditement and to the particuler charge of euerie person their arreigned, which was of cōspiring the Q. death. Wherof if they could by any proof or sufficient testimony of credible persons conuict al, or any of them, then their death to be deserued: yf not, their innocent

*The most
iust excep-
tion and re-
quest of the
martyrs ar-
reigned.*

blood vpon al that should be accessorie to the shedding therof, a crime that crieth for vengeaunce at Godes hand when it is done but by priuate malice and mischeif; but committed in publike place of iudgement, by authoritie and pretence of lawe (as in the case of Naboth and of Christ our master) it is in the sight of God most horrible, and neuer long eskapeth publike punishment: from the which our Lord God of his mercie saue our poore countrie euen by the prayers of thes holie Martyrs, for whos blood it is otherwise highelie deserued.

*An euident
conclusion
vpon the
principal
purpose.*

Therefore al other idle and vagrant speeches, odiouslie amplifying either the Popes, Iesuites, Seminaries, Doctor Sanders or anie other mans peculiar actions for Religion or otherwise, set apart (wherupon as the Counsellors then at the barre, so now the writers of this Libel voluntarie and vainly doe onelie stand, and make their rest) ther is nothing in the world that can proue effectuellie thes mens lawful condemnation, nor auowe the iustice of that execution (which the Libeller taketh vpon him to doe, but in truth no whit toucheth the matter) sauing onely such allegation & testimonie as may conuince Father Campian and his fellowes with him arraigned, to haue compassed the Q. destruction, or inuasion of the Realme.

What other thing-soeuer they were guiltie of; or what affection so euer they beare, in respect of their contrarie Religion, to their Prince and state; or what treasonable opinions (as they fondlie cal them) concerning the Excommunication or depriving the Q. were afterward discovered in them; or what other reasonable cause in respect of the aduersaries feare and ielousie ouer the state, or doubt of the times the troubled, the officers then, or the Libellers now to satisfie the people or the world abroad, doe alledge for their excuse; none of al thes things can iustifie that execution,

tion, so long as the matter for which they were onely endited can not be prooued, nor the statute of K. Edward the third, vpon which they pretend to haue endited them, is transgressed by them.

Therefore as the whole treatise of our aduersaries defence is too wide from the purpose: so speciallie at the fower reasons, which for the readers ease, (as they terme it) and for the pith & somme of the whole discourse, they haue put at th'end of their Libel in a rake together; by which the discret reader may take a tast of their deceitful dealing in the whole booke.

*Four
reasons for
the cōdem-
natio of Fa.
Campion
and his fel-
lowes.*

Euerie reason should conclude that the Priestes were executed vpon no charge of new religious treasons, but vpon old statutes onely for matter of conspiracie, in which sense no one of them in truth doth conclude.

And the first Reason cometh onely to this end; that her Maiestie contemning the Popes Bulles for a good while, at length spying them to be dangerous, reuiued former lawes for prohibition of them within her dominions. Which Argument being laid for the ground of al, hath nether the conclusion looked for against thos Priestes in particuler, nor truth of narration in the premisses. For nether were ther anie such Bulles and excommunications which (they say) were tollerated or contemned for certaine years; none at al (I say) of that kind published in her dayes before that one of Pius quintus mentioned in the next argument folowing: nether were ther extant anie old statutes (that we know) to be reuiued, against such excōmunications in any such sense as they wil seeme to make them.

*The first
reason.*

The second Argument prooueth onelie that Felton for publishing Pius quintus his Bul, was by their lawes condemned and put to death, and was the first that was executed for matters comming from Rome:

*The second
reason.*

wherupon how substantiallie it is inferred, that father Campian and his fellowes were not condemned for Religion, but for transgression of old statutes of treasons, let the wise consider: and withal, let the learned in our lawes determine whether the bringing in of a Bul of excommunication from Rome were treason in the dayes and by the statute of K. Edward the third.

The third reason.

Thirdlie they reason thus, the people raised rebellion in the North; ergo her Maiesty can not be blamed for vsing force against them and punishing the authors of the same: which maketh litle against the persons here named.

The fourth reason.

Fourthly, that the Pope stirred to rebellion and succoured the Irish; therefore she hath great reason to search out al seditions persons, as Priestes and Iesuites be; and so to trie, condemne, & execute them. Neither of which reasons haue anie further sequele in the sight of anie reasonable and indifferent man, then to punish them that ar by lawful trial, prooued to be partakers of thes actions; which was impossible to doe in anie of the Priestes case arraigned: neither was any of the said commotions laid in particular to any one of them al at the barre, though impertinentlie such matters were for a deceitful flourish often (as in this Libel) touched.

A rhetorical preuention of the Libeller.

And wheras by preuention of some obiections ether made or that may be made, that thes poore religious Priestes, scholers, and vnarmed men could not be any doers in the warres of England or Ireland; the Libel maketh a solemne rhetorical tale, for answer; that though they were not in the feeld to fight, yet they might by their counsel, encouragement, and perswasion be partakers of the same crime, and executed as accessorie to the other treasons: which needed not so many superfluous wordes in so short a worke; al the world confessing that the ministers, messengers, espials,

espials, and abettours of offenders, ar often no lesse punishable then the principal actors. But in sincere dealing it had bene to be prooued that F. Campian and thos other holie men were secret workers and aiders of the Northerne and Irish commotion, wherof nether now in this booke, nor then at the barre any one word is alleaged.

Al is ful of wild and wast wordes artificiallie couched to abuse the ignorant, that knew not the state of this disputation: al running to this odde issue, that her Maiesty hath reason to punish traitors; but no word to conuince them of thes or any other old treasons for which they were endited, nor to reprove vs that boldlie vpon euident demonstration, yea and certeine knowledge, doe testefie before God and man, that they were not guiltie of thos offences of which they were endited, and for which they were by vnlaful calumniation and violence cast away, as in the face of the world; but ī the sight of our Lord attained a pretious death, and the glorie of Saints euerlastinglie.

When it came to the verie point of the accusation, and al rouing and rayling talke against Pope, Rome, Religion, Seminaries, Bulles, Masses, Preachinges, Reconciliations, Agnus deis and Beades, (with which they larded al their euidence, though of such thinges they professed not to condemne them) was to be set aside, and now by witnesses to be prooued that they were guiltie of the forsaide conspiracie against the Q. person, &c. two or thre such fellowes were sought out and procured to giue testimonie against them, as first professed them selues to be heretiques, and therefore by S. Augustines Iudgemēt, were not to be heard against a Catholique Priest. Secondly (seing heresie maketh no exception in England) they were knowen to be otherwise common coosiners, lost companions,

The witnesses that gave euidence against the Priestes of God. Epist. 212.

salable for a souz, and bought by th'enemie to betray them & beare witnes against them. Thirdly, some of them charged in the face of the court with shameful adultery; with dooble or triple murther; and other like horrible crimes pardoned for this purpose. Fourthly, they were discovered both then and afterward of notorious falshood, incongruitie, and discord oftymes, persons, places, and other circumstances; and their iniquity eftsoons disclosed by their owne
* fellowe.

* Iohn Nichols in his letters imprinted.

A pitiful case.

Fol. 16.

And to see now the men of God, so manie, so excellent for vertue, so famous for learning, religion, zeale, and deuotion, to hold their liues vpon the conscience of such notorious Atheistes and out-castes of the world; yea (as in M. Paines case) vpon the bare word of one of them onely, against diuine & humane lawes (requirig twoo witnesses at the least): it was surrelie verie pitiful to behold, but not maruelous to vs, that cōsidered the conditiō of our time, & easelie foresawe that thes holy mens deathes were now designed and thought necessarie by our Politiques, for conseruation of their state; as the Libeller here subtilly insinuateth, that it was to be done in regard of the dangerous tyme when the Popes forces were in Ireland and more in preparation to folowe aswel into England (as he conningly faineth to make the necessitie of this Iustice more excusable) as also into Ireland: as though he wold say; that by some one pretence or other, for terrour and example, they were to be found guiltie, and so dispatched.

Strange proceedings in matters of life and death.

Well, thus their good witnesses gaue in euidence of thinges spoken and contriued in Rome and Reims of which were knowen to be most false of al that were in ether place the times and dayes by them named: & whatsoeuer was ether trulie or falselie testified to be done or said in ether of the twoo places by anie English

English ther dwelling, it was vniustly applied to al & euery one of thes good men now standing in iudgement; yea it serued against some that were neuer in ether place in their life, as against M. Foord and M. Collington; as also against Father Campiā that dwelt a thowland myles of in Prage; occupied by his Superiours in teaching and preaching, wholie estranged from al Englishmen and English affaires, otherwise then in his prayers for aboue nine years together; not euer sene or knowen to diuers that then were arraigned with him in iudgement, as conspirators in one and the same treason, before they met ther together at the barre, nor euer knowen to the witnesses them selues. The same serued against M. Shert that had not bene in ether place of manie years before. Against M. Briant also and M. Richardson that neuer had bene in Rome, nor in Remes of eight monethes before the time wherin the false witnesses fained the conspiracie to haue bene ther contriued. Yea and against father Bosgraue it serued also, that was neither Seminarie man, nor sent by the Pope or Superiour, nor acquainted with anie other English Priestes that returned home, nor of the cause of their coming; hauing bene so long absent in the North-partes of the world, that he had in maner forgotten his owne language, repairing home him self for his health onely: and yet al or the most part of thes men, being so different amongst them selues, in age, life, state, calling, place of abode, time of absence from their countrie, and in the cause, maner, & purpose of returning, were condemned together at one barre, for one and the self same particular treason; for cōspirīg (forsooth) her Maiesties death at Rome & Rhems, such and such dayes, which in it self bath most manifest contradiction.

But yet when thes things were, for the impossibilitie of the fact, laid doune and opened at the barre by

the holie Cōfessors, them selues: it preuailed nothing, though otherwise also the euidence were given by such persons and of such matters, as it was nether possible nor credible that they could be guiltie. It was found sufficient for their condemnation that they had kissed the Popes foot; that they were his scholars and had receaued *Viaticum* from him; that they had scene or spoken with Cardinals in Rome; and were made Priestes ether ther or at other places; and finallie, sent home by authoritie of their Superiours accompted enemies in the present state of our Countrie. Which thinges, together with the partial, ynwonted, and vnlawful dealing vsed in the proceeding of that day of their iudgement, and the knowen innocent qualitie & trade of the persons; cleareth them against this Libel, and al other false accusation whatsoeuer.

The protestations of the cōdemned at their deaths.

But most of al euery ones sincere protestation, in the houre of their honorable conflict and Martyrdom, that they were ignorant of al conspiracies, and most innocent of that for which they were condemned in particuler, cleareth thē thoroughly in the iudgment and conscience of euery reasonable man; seing it is not probable that such men would against their consciences and against the truth haue auouched a falsehood at that instant to the present and euerlasting perdition of their soules, which would not relent in anie point of their faith to saue onely their temporal liues.

And this is also an inuincible prooffe of their innocencie and that al was for Religion, and nothing in truth for treason; that yf they would haue confessed the Q. to be their Cheef in causes spiritual, or haue relented in their religion, they should haue had life and perdō; which was profered to euery one of them, not onely at th' execution, but often before. Yea for once going to their heretical seruice, any of thos whō they

they pretend to be so deepe traitors might haue bene quit with fauour, as also with great thākes & goodlie preferments.

And plaine it is, that now at the houte of their death being past further feare of mans lawes, yf they had ment any thing against the Q. person, or had receaued order by their Superiours, or had thought it agreable to their spiritual profession, to deale in other matters then religion and conuersion of soules by preaching, perswasio, praiers & other preebly means they might haue spoken their mindes boldelic now at their passage and departure from this world; as since that time we vnderstand that a certaine worshipful lay gentleman did, who protested both at his arreignement and at his death, that her Maiestie was not his laful Quene for two respectes; the one for her birth, the other for the excommunication; her Highnes hauing nether sought dispensation for the first, nor absolutio for the second. But none of al our Priestes made any such answere: nor otherwise vttered any vnlawful speach that might ether offend her Maiestie, or the state present; irritate enimie, or scandalize frend.

An evident reason.

M. James Laborne put to death at Lancaster.

Al their confessions both voluntarie and forced by torments, ar extant in the persecutors handes; is ther any word foundeth or smelleth of conspiracie?

They haue al sortes and sexes of Catholikes in prison for their faith, and diuers honorable personages onely vpon pretence of dealing and conuersing with them: hath any one of al the Realme in durance or at libertie, by faire meanes or foule, confessed that euer ether Priest or Iesuite perswaded them in Confession or otherwise to forsake the Q? That euer they were absolved on that condition? That euer they receaued Agnus-dei at their hādes, or other spiritual token for earnest or prest to rebel and ioine with the enimie? as this slaunders Libel doth not so much auouch (for

Confessions of Catholiques.

that were intollerable) as by guileful art insinuate, without al prooffe or probabilitie.

Wherin, as at the place of their iudgement, the Magistrate professing that nothing should be preiudicial vnto thē that touched onelie their religiō (yet indeed had no other matter for their conuiction but the functions of their order & Priesthood) so this Libeller now, pretending their treasons to be old and of another sort, and acquiting them for their Romish tokens, ceremonies, bookes, beades, and opinions (as he speaketh): yet cōinglie windeth him self about in wordes, and onelie condemneth them in the end for the same, not as capital (forsooth) in them selues, but as seruiceable to the Pope, and appliable to the benefite of rebels at home or abroad: So cōinglie they play in such mens liues and deathes as our countrie was vnworthie of.

*Machiavel-
liā Policies.*

But now when the innocent persons were condemned, and so manie of them as they thought was necessarie for their practize, executed: because they perceiued great scruples and suspicious conceites to rise in al mens hartes and heades about the fact and vnwonted proceeding; no man ether so euil or ignorant as to take thē guiltie of thos crimes wherof they were appeached, and euerie man not so wise as to spie that it was done of necessarie policy without much regard of Conscience or diuinitie: knowing also that one Iohn Nichols a Minister and protestāt (who gaue the first false ouerture of this sinful stratageme) touched by God, absented him self at their condemnatiō and death, and afterward cried the innocent men mercie vpon his knees, confessing both by word and letter authentically recorded, that partlie vpon his motion they had condemned innocent blood, and that him self was forced by certaine persons in authoritie (whom for honor sake we wil not name though he
named

*In Roan.
1583.*

named them) to commence such a foule tragedie: considering therefore al thes thinges, and desiring to couer the foulness of the fact as much as might be, aswel in respect of their owne people manifoldlie discontented, and speciallie impatient of such iniurious proceedings; as also of strangers, to whom the rare vertues of father Campian and of some of th'others were knowen: (besides other violēt meanes by seuerē punishments and proclamations to stay the hard speeches and conceates of the people therin): They caused some of them that yet were not executed, to be examined vpon certaine Articles, six in al, cleane of an other pourport then their former accusation of killing the GREATEST (as our Libel speaketh) al which articles doe concerne onelie the authoritie and fact of *Pius Quintus* of famous memorie, in censuring the Q. by excōmunication and depriuation for Heresie): and what they thought, or how far they allowed of the same.

The substance and intent of the six Articles propounded to the Priestes before their execution.

Wherunto, because they did coniecture their answers wold be odious in the sight of the simple, & speciallie of zealous protestantes (as it fel out in deed) they deuised to publish and read them to the people at the martyrdom of the rest, that therby they might at least conceiue that they were worthie of death for other causes though not for that wherof they were condemned; and so ether lesse pitie thē, or lesse marke the former vniust pretended matter of their condemnation.

And this cōning cours they haue folowed euer sith in defence of that pretended Iustice, and is the whole conueyance of this Libeller now: who to defend th'execution of their crueltie towards thes Saintes of God, bestoweth his labour onelie to proue, that they haue bene tried by the six Articles cōcerning the Excommunication, and that ther was found a note after

Father Campians death touching the same Bul procured for th'interpretatiō & force therof & brought from Rome by father Persons and the said F. Campians sute: that M. Hart confessed the Bul in such and such sort to bind, and otherwise not to stand in force: Whereby onelie he goeth about to perswade the world and speciallic strangers vnaacquainted in our affaires, the said men to haue bene traytors & iustlie punished, as though new crimes ether found out or done after the sentence of their death past, yea after the execution of the same could iustifie their condemnation past before.

But the world looked for some iustification of that former iudgement and verdict of court which passed with such great solemnitie against thos innocent men before, vpon transgression (as was pretended) of an old statute, for compassing the Q. death. For as for al other declamatiōs and Inuectiues, be they true or be they false, can not excuse the fact frō plaine murther; nor condemne them after they be dead for other crimes then they were cōuicted of in their liues. Which the Libeller him self cōfesseth in thes expresse wordes after al his idle worke and wordes: *Vpon refusal to answer to thes questiōs directlie* (saith he) *as they might haue bene iustlie cōuicted of treason, so yet were they not therupō condemned:* (Which yet is false, for they haue latelie executed diuers Priestes as M. Haddock, M. Hemmerford and others most cruellie onelie about the matter of excommunication of the Q.) *But vpon their other former actions committed both abroad and in the Realme.* But what thos actiōs were and how they were prooued to be committed particulerly by thos, whom we auouch to be vniustly condemned vpon old treasons, and to be onely killed for their religion; that should haue bene your whole endeouour (Sir) to shew, al other superfluous railing or recital of pretēded offenses (for which

Preestes
newlie
martyred in
England.

Fol. 18.

which your self confesse they were not condemned) being not of force to mainteine the defence of your pretended Iustice, nor yet to stay the Christian world and Church of God from accompting them Martyrs whom you haue murdered.

Against whos holy alhes and memories you can strugle no more, then th'olde heathen and hererical persecutours did, to diffame thos glorious men of the primatiue Church whom they executed in pretence of like treasonable trespasses: who yet (notwithstanding their enemies manifold endeouours to stay the honours due to them after their deathes) by Christ and his Churches iudgment haue gotten the victory ouer their aduersaries; and so remaine as glorious in heauen and earth, as their persecutors be infamous through al the world.

What worldlie honour the two king Henries of England had, (I meane the second and eight) which in the dayes of their reigne, no doubt was great; or what esteeme so euer the Princeesse present and her greatest Ministers haue now, by the height of their roome and fortune in this life; it is but a very dreame, shadow, or phantasie, to the glorie of *Thomas* of Canturburie, *Iohn* of Rochester, Chancelor *More*, Father Campian and the rest; who fame & felicity foloweth vpon their deathes, and vppon such contradiction of sinners seeking to disgrace them. As also in the contrary part, the persecutors glory dieth with their authority, if not before: and they are commonly better knowen to posterity by executing of such me, (though to their shame) then by other their factes in their life whatsoeuer. And so doth God protect his Saints; *contradictioe linguarū*, from the ganesaing of tongues; and giueth the victorie of the world by the fortitude of their Fayth in him.

The comparison of the Persecutors, with the persecuted.

But of the six Articles concerning the Bul of ex-

communication, more shalbe said in the next chapter and other places folowing; that their innocēcie therein also may appeare, and the flaunderous Libeller repressed euery way.

THAT WE NOWE HAVE GREAT CAUSE TO COMPLAINE OF INIVST PERSECUTION, intollerable seuerity and cruelty to vwardes Catholiques in England: and their Protestantes no reason to doe the like for the Iustice done to them in *Quene MARIES* and other Princes dayes, and the cause of the difference.

CAP. III.



THE Libeller by-sophistical reasons & popular perswasio going about to make men thinke th'english persecution to be nothing so violent as is diuulged, nor any thing comparable to the iustice exercised towarde the Protestantes in the raigne of the late *Q. Marie*; telleth of hundrethes for our scores, as also of the qualities of them that then suffred, of their innocencie in all matters of state, and treason, and such like.

To which we say breeflie, clearlie, and to the purpose; that we measure not the matter by the number, nor by the seuerity of the punishment onely or specially: but by the cause; by the order of Iustice in proceeding; by the lawes of God & all Christian Nations, and such other circumstances; wherby we can prooue *Q. MARIES* doings to be commendable and most lawfull; th'other towarde vs and our Brethren, to be iniust and impious.

The difference is in thes pointes; you professe to put

put none to death for religion: you haue no lawes to put anie man to death for his faith: you haue purpose-
 lie repealed by a special statute made in the first yeare
 and parliament of this Q. reigne, al former lawes of
 the Realme for burning heretiques, which smelleth
 of something that I need not here expresse: you haue
 prouided at the same time that nothīg shalbe deemed
 or adiudged Heresie, but by your Parliament & Con-
 uocatiō: you haue not yet set doune by anie new lawe
 what is Heresie or who is an Heretique: Therefore you
 can nether adiudge of our doctrine as of heresie nor of
 vs as of heretiques; nor haue you any lawe left wherby
 to execute vs: and so, to put anie of vs to death for reli-
 gion, is against Iustice, lawe, and your owne profes-
 sion and doctrine.

*The differ-
 ence of
 proceeding
 in Catholi-
 ques and
 protestātes,*

But neuerthelesse you doe torment and punish vs,
 both otherwise intollerable, and also by death most
 cruel; and that (as we haue prooued) for Agnus deis,
 for ministring the holie Sacraments, for our obe-
 dience to the Sea Apostolique, for perswading our
 frendes to the Catholique fayth, for our Preisthod,
 for studying in the Societie or Colledges beyond
 the seas, and such like which you haue ridiculousslie
 made treason; but after-ward (being ashamed of the
 foule absurditie) acknowledge them to be matters of
 religion and such as none shall die for. And therefore
 we most iustelie make our complaint to God & man
 that you doe vs plaine violence & persecute vs wyth-
 out al equitie and order.

On thother side Q. Marie against the Protestants
 executed onely the old lawes of our countrie and of
 al Christendome made for punishment of heretiques,
 by the Canons and determination of al Popes, Coun-
 sels, Churches, & Ecclesiastical tribunals of the world;
 allowed also and authorised by the ciuil and imperial
 lawes, and receaued by al kingdomes Christian besi-

des; and who the hath any cause iustly to be greued? Why should any man complaine or thinke strange for executing the lawes which are as ancient, as general, & as godly against Heretiques, as they are for the punishment of traitors, murderers, or theeues?

Secondly we complaine iustly of persecution; for that our cause for which we suffer, is the faith of al our Forefathers; the faith of our persecutors owne auncestors; the faith into which our cuntry was conuerted and by which we are called Christian; the faith of the Catholique Churches & Kingdoms round about vs; the faith that we promised in our regeneratiō; and therefore can not be forced from it, nor punished for it, by any lawe of God, Nature, or Nations.

Why Heretiques may be forced to the Catholique faith though borne and bred vp in Heresie.

Wher contrariwise thos that in our time or otherwise haue fallen from that faith which not onely their elders religiously receaued, but them selues also for most part were many years brought vp in: or if not, yet had they promised and vowed the same, by their parentes and spiritual suerties (though protestants) in their Baptisme; wherein solemne promise is both made and taken to folow the Catholique Church & faith with abomination of al heresies & sectes whatsoever: thes men (I say) though borne of parēts either Arrians, Macedonians, Pelagiās, Anabaptistes, Zwinglians, Protestants or other sect or opinion, are not permitted, and much lesse charged or bound (as the Libeller ful ignorantly surmiseth) to hold that profession of peculiar Heresie, wherein they were first brought vp; seing they can not be deemed to haue professed that sect in their Baptisme, (or as idly this poore deuine addeth, in their Confirmation) which was first taught them by their maisters of error, according to the time or place of their first education: but are to be instructed, how that their profession in Baptisme was of the true Catholique, receaued & knowē Christian

Christian faith dispersed ouer the world in Christ his Church; wherunto they afterward stand bound, and consequentelie by al lawe both deuine and humane may be inforced, albeit their actual baptisme or education were neuer so much amongst heretiques.

So that, as no lawe of God or man can force vs to be protestantes; no more can any reason be alledged nor iust excuse made for ether yong or old, why being baptized or brought vp amongst Arrians or Calvinists, they may not be forced to returne to the Catholique Church and faith againe.

And we may maruel in what age or world those people were borne, which the Libeller noteth to haue bene burned in Q. Maries time; hauing neuer heard (as Fol. 9. he sayeth) of any other religion, then that for which they suffred? For the sect which they pretended to die for, was not extant in England aboue fise or six years before in the short reigne of K. Edward the sixt, or rather of his protectour; for before that, in K. Henries dayes the same profession was accompted heresie, and the professours therof were burned for Heretiques and that by publique lawes no lesse then in the reigne of Q. Marie. But the truth is, that because we Catholique Christian men doe iustly ground our selues vpon the former professiō of our faith notoriously knowen to be, and to be called Catholique; thes men apishlie would imitate our phrase and argument in a thing as far differing as heauen and hel.

Thirddie we say that we haue iust cause to complaine of this present persecution; for that the maner of it is such and the proceeding so conformable to the old Pagane, Heretical, and Apostatical fashion and dealing against Gods Church and children, that nothing can be more like.

The maner of proceeding in persecuting protestants,

They hated al Catholiques and compted them traitors, so doe you. They speciallie persecuted Byshops,

Priestes, and religious; so doe you. They killed them indeed for their beleeve, but yet pretended other crimes more odious and speciallic matters of conspiracy and rebellion against the ciuill magistrate; so doe you. They droue the innocent by captious interrogatories into dangers of lawes that neuer offended the lawes; so doe you. They pressed men by torments to denie their fayth vnder colour of trying their secret intentes against the Prince; so doe you. They punished and haue put to death one Catholique for another mans fault of the same profession, and vpon general supposals common to al of the same faith made away whom they lyst; so doe you. I referre the indifferent readers to the persecution of *Iulianus Apostata*; of the *Goths and Vandals* in Italie and Affricque.

It is not onelie the slaughter of manie, and them speciallic the Priestes of God, which is most proper to heretical persecution; but th'other infinite spoile of Catholique mens goods, honors, and libertie, by robbing them for receyuing Priestes, hearing Masse, retayning Catholique Schoolmasters, keeping catholique seruantes, mulcting them by twentie poundes a moneth (which by their cruel accompt they make thirtene-skore a yeare) for not repairing to their damnable Schismatical seruice. By which a number of auncient gentlemen fall to extremitie either of conscience, if for feare they obey; or of their vndoing in the world, if they refuse. The taking of their deare children from them by force, and placing them for their seduction with Heretiques; (which violence can not be done by the lawe of God to Iewes themselves) the burning of our Priestes in the eares; the whipping and cutting of the ears of others; carying some in their sacred vestmentes through the streetes; putting our chaste virgins into infamous places appointed

pointed for strumpets; & other vnspeakable vilanies, not inferiour to anie of the said heathnesse persecutions.

They haue pined and smothred in their filthie prisons, aboue thirtie famous Prelates; aboue fourtie excellent learned men; of nobles, gentlemen, and matrones a number; whos Martirdome is before God as glorious, as if they had by a speedie violent death bene dispatched: euerie dongeon and filthie prison in England ful of our Priestes & brethen; al Prouinces and Princes christianed witnesses of our banishment. In al this we yeeld them our bodies, goods, countrie, blood & liues; & nothing wil quench their hatred of our Priesthood, faith, and profession. Thus in al causes we suffer, and yet they would not haue vs complaine; they say al is sweet, clement, and merciful in this regiment. But as we said, we no otherwise complaine of this persecution against vs, but as it is exercised for that faith and quarel which the lawes of God and man approue and iustifie in vs; That it is done by the sheepe and subiectes of Godes Church against their owne Prelates and pastors, to whom in causes of religiō they ar bound to obey by th'expresse word of God.

*The sufferings of
Catholiques.*

When the lauful magistrate bearing sword by God for punishment of offenders putteth theecues, heretiques, or murderers to death; who accompteth it crueltie? who complaineth of persecution? But when contrariwise by anie violent disorder the malefactors get head and take hart in a commen wealth, and kil a lauful officer, iudge, or superior; that is a cruel and horrible fact, though it be done but in one or two persons in stead of a thousand wicked men executed by iust lawes. So whē the Prince and Prelate proceed together against such as by the sentence and law of the Church of Christ ar adiudged to be hereti-

True per-
secution.

ques and iniuries to God, that is Iustice : but when the temporal Prince or lay people rebel against their owne Bishops to whom in spiritual matters they are bound by Godes word to giue eare vnder paine of damnatio; yea whē mere lay mē & most of thē wholie vnlearned disorderlie take vpon thē to prescribe vnto their owne pastors what they should belecue, how they should minister the Sacramēts, force vpon them false and impious othes and articles, and that in Parliament, wher the Bishops by the lawes of our countrie hauing the principal suffrages, and the rest of the whole Conuocation representing the Church of England, honorable and vniformelie resisted; whō thes mē afterward deposed of their honors, toke their pulpits, churches, titles & prerogatiues from them; imprisoned their sacred persons, and abused some of them, namelie the noble Confessor and Bishop of London by al sortes of vilanie; This loe is a persecutio indeed, wher the sheep, subiects and inferiors violently oppose them selues against them whom the the Holie-ghost hath placed to be the guides, gouernours and curates of their soules. Yea when they depose, disauthorize, spoile, punishe, imprison their owne rulers Gods annointed Priestes; & giue warrant by wicked lawes to the temporal powers, to visit, correct, iudge, & discerne of the doctrine of their Masters in religion; that is a persecution, sedition, and rebellion in the highest degree.

Osce 4.

And we may trewlie say hereof to our lost Countrie with the Prophet; *Populus tuus sicut hi qui contradicunt Sacerdoti*: the state of the persecution being wholie agreable to the mutinie of *Chore, Dathā, Abiro* and their confederats in the desert against their lauful Priestes and Gouernors; yea properlie against the high Priesthood of *Aaron*, as our contries reuolt now is against the sea Apostolique, and al lauful spiritual regiment

regiment proceeding from the same.

And therefore the Libeller guiltfullie in respect of the simple, but fondlie and fallie in our eyes, dispro-ueth our laufull refusal to obey men before God, and our resistance in matter of conscience by th'example of *Chores* conspiracie; which toucheth al their rebellions frō the sea Apostolique & Catholique Church; and confirmeth al our endeouours for maintenance of the same against what aduersaries so euer.

And their rebellion is the more plaine, and persecution more hateful and intollerable; for that they haue not onely vnnaturallie done this violēce to their owne spiritual rulers, but therupon also haue chosen at their pleasures and intruded into their places a sort of greedie wolues; vnordered *Apostats*; amarous and godlesse companions; the very filth and chanel of the Realme; who for hatred of the Catholique faith from which they ar Renegates, and through a kind of competencie or emulation of the true Bishops, (whos roomes by secular force they vniustlie haue inuaded and doe deteine) beare such vnquenchable malice to the true annoiuted cleargie & to their obediēt followers, that they cease not to icite the powers of the Realme against vs; and exercise them selues vnder the pretended title of their vsurped dignities and other temporal commissions, the greatest tirannie and crueltie in the world; standing in feare of their state so long as they see anie true Bilhop or Catholique man aliue. Whos actiōs are the rather intollerable; for that they know, and hath beene prooued in open court, that they not onelie vsurpe thos places against Gods and the Churches lawes; but that they were not made and inuested according to the new lawes of the Realme, speciallie made for creation of them.

So as our true pastors being vexed, spoiled, tormented and flaine against lawe, nature, and al reason by

temporal men, hauing no authoritie in causes ecclesiastical; and by a new forged cleargie that exerciseth no Iurisdiction, but by euident vsurpation, against both the Canons of the Church, and the lawes of our countrie: who is of so dul a wit as not to see the difference of the discipline of the Church and Realme done towarde offenders in Catholique times and states by laufull authoritie both spiritual and temporal; and the iniust persecution of the Church and her children now, proceeding of nether laufull authoritie temporal nor spiritual.

*What
clemencie
was used
to them of
the old
Clergie at
the begin-
ning.*

Therefore let not the Libeller here so much extol the equitie and mercie vsed in her Maiesties regiment to certaine of the old principal cleargie, because they put the not to death as they haue done others sithēce. Cicero wil not sticke to tel them what a benefit is done to an honest man, when his purse is taken from him, and yet his life saued; and what thanks ar to be rendered in that case to the benefactor. What courtesie so euer was shewed at that time more then afterwards to such as folowed (which ī good sooth was no other, then in stead of a present quicke dispatch on Gibet, to allow them a long and miserable life or rather a lingering and languishing death, in durance, desolation and disgrace; a far worse kind of persecution as *S. Hilarie* noteth against Constance the Arrian Emperour, then anie other). But whatsoeuer it was that moued them not to put such to present death as they haue done some of the yonger sort afterward; no difference of cause ther was; the later sort being indeed no more traiterous or disloyal then the former.

*Why
they used
Catholique
bet-
ter at the*

This may perhaps be the cheefe cause; that persecutors lightlie at the beginning vse of purpose and pollicie, gentle allurements, hoping that way to gaine the grace of al sortes: which is the reason that *Iulian* the Emperour in the beginning was much noted of clemen-

clemencie; but in fin when he saw he could not extinguish the Christian faith by art, his former hypocritical lenitie was at length turned into extreme furie. *beginning the novu.*

In our countrie at the first entrance of Heresie they had al the principal Cleargie, and diuers cheefe Catholiques in prisons or places at commaundmēt, wher they could not exercise their functions; and being ancient men most of them, they knew they could not liue long: wherof diuers hauing bene in high offices hard before, had shewed pleasures to some protestāts that should haue els suffred for their Heresies or treasons in Q. Maries dayes; who now by sauing some of the said Bishops liues, thought to requit their courtesies in part. They litle thought that the old holy Cōfessors, being worne out by years and imprisonment, a new generation would rise to defend their old Bishops and Fathers faith.

Wherin perceauing now after twentie five years struggling against Gods Church, al their humane counsels to be frustrat; and that they can haue no rest in their Heresie, nor security of their state, depending (as they thinke) therupon: they ar now in greater furie and rage towards vs, making challenge for our ancestors faith, then they were with the said holie Bishops; though to say truth, in respect of the others high calling and vnction to degrade onely and imprison one of them, was greater punishment thē twentie deathes to vs, being to them but punies and their pupils and most obedient children of their pastoral dignitie.

But wher the Libelier pretendeth vs to be guiltie of other treasons and trespasses then they were, and therfore punished by death rather then they; as also pressed by the new questions of the Bul and other capital matters, as they neuer were; we auouch both assertions to be vntrue: nether our treasons being other

then matter of our conscience and religion more then theirs were; nor yet they (being indeed so quiet & obedient subiects as you cōfesse them to haue bene) were alwayes free from such or other bloodie and quareling demaunds, as now are put to vs, for entangling of our blood: Wherof aswel the honorable Confessor and Bishop of Londō may be an example, before any excommunication of the Q. was heard of; as other Prelates and prisoners of that time and ranke conuented afterward, about nine yeares agoe; and had interrogatories concerning the Bul of the verie same sense and peril as thes that quiet Catholique men ar now tempted euen to death with-al.

*Praises
geeuē to
the old
Clergy by
the Libel-
ler.*

As for the high praises and special testimonie of wisdome, learning, and loialtie that it liked the maker of the Libel to giue in particuler and in very nice fashion and miniard tearmes, to certaine of the cheefe Clergie; though it be but the sweet *salve* of *Ioab* to *Amasa*, kissing and killing both at once, (for within fix lines he crieth shame and reproch to them al): yet it is a condemnation to him and his fellowes that presumed to dispossesse so noble, wise, and learned Prelates; and to prefer the iudgment and verdict of men ignorant and prophane before such mens sentence euen in matter of Religiō: and much more to put into their places a number of incircuncised *Philistines*, take of the raskalitie of the whole Realme; and of such onely as could & would fil my Lordes of the Courtes handes with the benediction giuen to *Esau*: in respect of whom, or of any or al the route that suffred for Heresie in Q. Maries daies, the poorest and worst that be in trouble for religion at home, or in banishment for the same abroad, (of whom this Libeller vpon ether his malicious heretical humor or artificial policie, to diminish their credit with the people, or their grace with the Princes and Prelates abroad, vnder whos prote-

protection they liue, speaketh so contemptible, and in part so reprochfullie and flaunderouslie) may be in al life and behauour accounted Saints.

It is a shame to folowe the Libellers follie in the pursuite of such childish thinges; but he compelleth vs, and therefore we be forced to compare our cases & persons to theirs that were burned in our countrie for Heresie and Apostacie not long before.

The comparison of thos that suffer now, with the that suffered in Q. Maries time.

The Libel therefore maketh a glorious muster of Archbishops, (so he speaketh by *Enalage numeri*); for indeed ther was but one, and he a notorious periured and often relapsed *Apostata*; recanting, swearing, & forswearing at euerie turne; and at the verie day and houre of his death, sacrilegiousslie ioyned in pretended mariage to a woman, notwithstanding his vowe and order (the verie first and principal cause of of th'English calamitie.) Other Bishops or clergie men were ther none of al the packe that was burned; (though two or three of them had iniustly vsurped some Prelates roomes) but were of the basest (for most part) worst, and contemptiblest of both sexes. In so much that the verie saint-woman, whos child (as he sayth vpon lying Foxes credit) burst out of her bellie into the fier, was nought of her bodie; and therefore to couer her incontinencie would not vtter to the Officer her case, nor claime (after the custome of our countrie) the benefit of her bellie; but for the honor of her holie Martirdom (forsooth) went to the fier with the child in her wōbe, her self onelie knowing therof: wher almightie God discovered her filthe and shame, wher she looked for the glorie of a Saint & of a virgin Martyr; of which sort ther is none in al Foxes Martirologe, nor commōly amōgst protestāts saincts.

Foxes Saint-woman.

Now for thes we yeeld vnto the Libeller; first fourtene noble and most worthie Bishops at one time, such as him self vpon euil intēt commēded euen now

The number and qualitie of Catholi-

ques that
haue suf-
fered.

so highelie (and indeed they were inferior in vertue & learning to none in Europe) who al were depriued of their honors & high callinges , and most of the imprisoned & spitefullie vsed in al respectes; besides the famous cōfessor Archbissshop of *Armachane* Primate of Ireland, & a number of Bissshops of that countrie. Next we yeeld you in banishmēt two worthie English Prelates of the same dignitie th'one dead th'other yet aliue in Rome; three elected Bishops al now departed this life; we name the honorable Abbat of Westminster; foure Priors or superiors of religious Couents; with three whole Couentes put out of their possessions either into prison or out of the Realme.

In the same case were a doosen of famous learned Deanes, which next to the Bishops doe hold the cheef dignities in the English Cathedral churches: fourtene Archdeacons; aboue threscore Canons of Cathedral churches; not so few as an hundreth Priestes of good preferment in Q. Maries time; besides manie one made in our banishment and since martired; fiftene heades or Rectors of colledges in Oxford and Cambridge, men of great importance in thos vniuersities and in the common wealth; and with them & the rather by their good example and prouocation, not manie yeares after, manie of the cheefe professors of al sciences; and aboue twentie Doctors of diuers faculties for conscience sake fled the Realme, or were in the Realme imprisoned. And both at the first and in diuers years sithence hath manie of the verie flower of the vniuersities come ouer both into the Societie, Seminaries, & other places, famous for learnīg. Wher through Gods goodnes and the great benignitie of Prelates, Princes, and Catholique people, they haue passed their long banishment in honest pueritie; and some in worshipful calling and roomes in Vniuersities, with as much grace and fauor as to foreigners

reiners could be yeelded: in no place (thankes be to our Lord God) impeached of crimes or disorder; wherof we can shew the honorable testimonie of the best wher we haue liued in al nations.

And for our Christian comportemēt both at home in afflictiō, & abroad in banishmēt (though we be subiect to infirmities as other sinful creatures be) we dare stād with al the protestāts in the world: which we be forced agaīst this infamous Libeller to speak more liberally and confidentlie; for that he so shamefullie and against his owne knowledge writeth; *That verie few ar fled for Religion other then such as were not able to liue at home but in beggerie; or discontented for lacke of preferment vvhich they gaped for vnworthelie in vniuersities and other places; or banke-rupt marchantes &c.* Wher the poorest wretches and worst amongst vs that in this tedious time of twentie fve years absence from our countrie, wil relent in religion and returne to them, may be most welcome, receaued with ioye & triumph, and made iemie fellowes in their new Synagoge. *Ita nusquā facilius proficitur, quā in castris rebellium;* as one saith. So earnestlie they wooe euerie poore *Apostata*, leud scholar, and lost companion; that for wearines of banishment, loose life, or impatience, looketh homeward towardes heresie or carnal libertie and licence againe. By which allurementes yet the world knoweth how exceding few you gayne or get frō vs; whilest we in the meane space (through Gods great grace) receiue hundrethes of your Ministers, a number of your best wits, manie delicate yong gentlemen, and diuers heires of al ages, voluntarily fleeing from your damnable condition, and seeking after God; and many of them also become Priestes or religious, euen now when you hate, contemne, and punish Priestes so deadlie. This is the worke of God marueilous both in your eyes and ours; and cannot by

Our behaviour in our time of persecution.

Tertuliā.

humane force, feare, or pollicie be dissolued.

*Temporal-
men Ca-
tholiques.*

Count your cardes therfore better, and looke not onelie of so manie famous Clergie men and the dailie encrease of them against your violent lawes (Sir Libeller) but count yf you dare for shame, among your beggars and bankeroutes in Q. Maries time (as you dishonestlie terme vs now) so manie noble and valiant Erles, Barons, Knights, Esquiers and gentlemen, that haue ether suffred prison, or as their conscience led the, stood in armes for defence of their Faith & Christiã knighthood; not against their Prince or countrie, but against such as abused her weake sex and former years of her youth to th'establissing of them selues and their Heresie; or haue forsaken their honorable callings, offices, and liuelihoods in their countries for defence of their Christian faith; of which I could name you a noble number of al degrees able and redie to defend by sword. (excepting the respect they haue to their Prince and deare Countrie) their Religion and honorable actiõs against al the heretiques in the world that defame them.

Whos most worthie order and knighthood the Libeller seeketh to distaine, by naming the noble Earle of Westmerland; whos peculier life and actions, or anie other particuler person of what condition soeuer though we goe not about nor neede to defend against malicious enuie & detraction of heresie; yet surelie notwithstanding his youthful behauour whatsoeuer (which he learned ther amongst you, and is not so strange in Campe or Court, you wote wel M. Libeller) he is able to proue that you slander him extremelie; & we cã witnes that he liueth in good health & honorable charge in the seruice of the K. Catholique: as we also cãtel you that the renoued Countie of Northumberland died a Saint and holie Martir. For what former quarel or cause of his death so-euer ther

was,

was, yet was he a true Martir, in that he was offered his life, yf he would alter his religiō; as diuers others were of the same action in the North; and al other Priestes pretended to be condemned for other treasons.

Which life and liuing in as much as they refused for Christ and his Faith when it was offered; they be in the number of Saints and Confessors, no lesse then if they had died onelie for the same.

And therefore when the aduersarie chargeth D. Sanders and D. Bristow with treason for affirming such to be Martirs, in this sense; he sheweth him self ignorant: as he is malicious in bidding vs enroule Somersfield in the number of our Martirs; as perhaps before God he is, if he were distract of his wittes, or furious (as al men say, and the Libeller confesseth) to whom can not be imputed what so euer he did in alienation of mind; and to his enemies shalbe imputed murder what so euer was done against him in that his state: or speciallie, (which is the most common opinion produced by manie probabilities) if the poore gentleman were dispatched of purpose and appointment; (as the fryar that accused the duke of Lancaster was, and manie other; and as the Protestants said *Iohn Hun* was in *Ballards tower*;) for preuention of the discouerie of certaine shameful practises about the condemnation and making away of the worshipful, valiant, and innocent gentleman M. Arden: whose case like to *Naboths*, and his wordes of wishing the Q. in heauen, (as it is reported) were so partiallie or rigorously scanned by the malice of his great and potent professed enemy that many yeares hath sought his ruine; together with his zealousnes in the Catholique faith, brought him to his most pittiful end, to the great regret of the whole countrie. But the importunitie of the aduersarie hath brought vs somewhat out of our intended course.

*D. Heath
Archbi-
shop of
York.*

To returne backe therefore to our famous Prelates, deposed in this Queens dayes the principal wherof was Archebishop of Yorke, & highe Chancelour of the realme (the Primate of Canterburie being deceased before): which worthie man this Libeller hypocriticallie commendeth for his loyaltie, though in Religion differing from them; therby to make the Q. Maiesties mercie towards him a paterne (forsooth) of clemencie not to be matched, as he wiselie writeth in Q. MARIES time; which Queene notwithstanding pardoned a number of heretiques and ranke condemned traitors, both of life and landes whom we could name, & al the world knoweth yet aliue. And further he addeth (which is a notorious vntruth) that the said Prelate voluntarilie left both his Chauncelorschip and Archbishopricke: wher al wise men wil witnes with him and for him, that he was most vniustlie with the rest of his Suffraganes and brethren Bishops for refusing to take that absurd othe of the Q. Supremacie, and to vse the new Caluinistical seruice in his prouince, deposed by violence from his spiritual function & dignitie.

Whos courage and resistance for quarel of Gods religion, (how loial and obedient so euer the Libeller would make thos men in comparison of vs; therby to insinuate, that the more bloodie rigour is vsed now towards vs then in the beginning towards them) was such in them & specially in the said Archbishop; that he worthelie, and as became his Excellencie, refused to anoint or crowne the Q. Maiestie that now is, though it appertained to his special office to doe the same, the Metropolitan being dead as hath bene said before: and so did al the rest of the Bishops refuse the same vntil with much a doe they obtained the Bishoppe of Carlisle, (the inferior al most of al the rest) to doe that function. Which is here remembred, by

*The Bishop
of Carlisle.*

me

me for that the Libeller of his good discretion recordeth it for special courtesie of that man towards his Princeſſe. Which refusal of him, (ſpecially that by office ſhould haue done the ſame) might in reaſon haue bene conſtrued to as hainous and treaſonable a purpoſe, as moſt thinges that afterward haue bene done for the Catholique cauſe by anie of the later years; if the malice of that time had bene as ripe then, as now it is againſt Gods Church and Prieſtes.

The cauſe why they durſt not the, nor could be ad-
duced by anie humane feare or authoritie to inueſt
her, was; for that they had euident probabilities and
arguments to doubt, that ſhe ment ether not to take
the othe or not to keepe the ſame, which al Chriſtian
kinges (and ſpeciallie ours in England) doe make in
their Coronation for maintenance of holy Churches
lawes, honors, peace and priuileges, and other duties
due to euery ſtate, as in the time and graunt of K.
Edward the Confeſſor.

*Why the
Catholique
Biſhops re-
fuſed to
croune this*

Q.

They doubted alſo leſt ſhe would reſuſe in the ve-
rie time of her ſacre, the ſolemne diuine ceremonie of
ynction (accuſtomed in the conſecration of al Chri-
ſtian princes) through the euil aduiſes of certaine yōg
counſellers, being then in the heate prime and pride
of their Hereſie, wherby great ſcandal might ariſe, and
hurt to the Realme. Which they the rather doubted,
becauſe they ſaw (not lōg before) her Highneſſe at her
firſt entrāce to that high eſtate, commaund a certaine
Biſhop, euen the ſame of Carlisle now named, ſtāding
readie to ſay Maſſe before her (a ſtrange caſe in a wo-
man towards a Biſhop) not to eleuate the holy con-
ſecrated Hoſte, but to omit that ceremonie, becauſe
ſhe liked it not. Which the ſaid Biſhop to his great
honor, conſtantlie reſuſed to obey. A thing that in one
of vs poore men now, perchaunce would be accom-
pliſhed high treaſon and diſſoialtie towards our Souer-

And of this his courage in Gods cause it neuer repented him; but for doing the other office at the Coronation when he sawe the issue of the matter; and both him self and al the rest of his sacred order deprived; and the Churches Holie lawes and faith, against the conditions of her consecration and acceptation into that royal roome, violated: he sore repented him al the dayes of his life; which were, for that special cause, both short and werisome afterward vnto him.

The intention of the Clergie to Excommunicate the Q. Otherwise doubtles al the Bishops, and the rest of the principal of the inferior Cleargie did stoutlie and worthelie as could be wished, & as was possible in that fodaine assault of Heresie; fearing at the same time their personal perill so litle, that they were manie of them of that mind that it should be good to vse the censure of Excommunication against her Highenes and some of her leaders into that reuolt so dangerous and shameful to the state, so latelie reconciled to the sea Apostolique, and by othe and promis of al estates confirmed.

But the wiser of the Bishops, or at least the mylder sort, perswaded the contrarie for manie inconueniences that might ensue: and so they rather resolued the matter to be remitted to the high Pastor of Christes vniuersal Church, then to be executed by them that were her subiects, not without perill perhaps of some further tumult scādal and trouble to the whole Cleargie; whom they would haue interpreted to haue done it of malicious and rebellions mind, rather thē of loue and dutie, of which al such censures indeed doe proceed, how so-euer the partie affected and sicke in soule (especiallie Princes except they be verie wel trained in the feare of God) accept the same; wel remembering that manie Kinges had killed their Pastors in like cases.

Al this we put doune that no man be abused by the enemie to thinke that the Reuerend Prelats, at the first were lesse zealous, (which he calleth more loial) or more obedient to the Prince in laful thinges, then we their scholars and of-spring be; or we lesse loial the they, and therfore more punishable then they were: though in deed their perpetual imprisonment and pining away in miserable desolation; their tossing and shifting from one superintendents house to an other; from one keeper to an other; from one prison to an other; subiect to extreme wantes, and to a thousand daylie vilanies besides; wherof some of the now haue tasted for twentie five years together, is worse then any death in the world. This then is a true Persecutio indeed, when such men for such causes against al reason and lawes be so vexed, by such as owe them al reuerence, dutie, and obedience.

Such is also the miserable fortune of the Catholique Nobilitie & Gentry, whom this Libeller saith; *They put not to death, nor losse of their inheritance though they hold opinion for the Popes supremacie, and defend that the Q. Maiestie ought not to be the gouernour ouer al her subiects in her Realme being persons Ecclesiastical; vvhich opiniōs (saith he) ar neuerthelesse in some part by the lawes of the Realme punishable in some degrees: yet such is their miserie (we say) that notwithstanding thes faire and false speeches of the enemy, they be far more iniured then the Cleargie; euen them selues more vexed, spoiled, dishonored with fines, mulctes, bondes, penalties, imprisonments, arreignements amongst theeues, pretence of premunuries, misprisions, discontentments, euil affections, and cōtrarie religion to the state; pursued by the vilest, and most abiect men; by Ministers, spies, and promotors; assailed & robbed in their owne howses; and chased from the same into woodes, yea sometimes into waters (we speake of knowledge) &*

The persecution of Catholique Nobilitie & Gentry.

at length into banishment. Which who seeth not how miserable a thing it is, when their whole families must either perish of famine at home, or begge in strange landes abroad; in which case both their goodes are seized on (as the world knoweth) and their possessions fall to the Princes handes or into the fist of some loyall companion, which shal vpon fauour obtaine the gift to make spoile of the same.

And yet this good writer, so nicelie, to colour their crueltie towardes Catholique gentlemen, setteth doune the matter as though cases of Cōscience, Religion, or of the sea Apostolique were but in some degrees, in some litle part punished, and not with losse of landes, nor death at any time persecuted; when he and al the world knoweth, that they may and doe by thos wicked lawes of theirs, disherite, put to perpetual prison, and to death diuers of the laytie. We refer them to the worshipful M. Trugeons case, who liueth in prison so many yeares of almes after the spoile and rapine of so goodlie possessions. We refer them to the lay men put to death of late at Winchester and Andouer; to so manie fled for religion of the best Nobilitie and gentry wholie sacked and spoiled of all they possessed; & so many hundreds more, vexed pillaged & spoiled at home, as they haue not wherewithal to expel famine from them selues and ther families. And which is yet more; we tel you, that ther can neuer a Catholique noble man in the realme, if by anie shew of religiō, or moderatiō in life, he giue th'emie the least suspicion in the world of his good affection that way, be sure of his life, landes and state one day. For by one false pretence and calumniation or other, they wil entrap him, emprison him; and in fin, (except God maruelouslie protect him) they wil ouerthrow him and his whole familie, and transference al his honors sometimes to his cheefest enemies. Yea al this often

against

against the Princeſſe wil; being led againſt her owne natural inclination to ſuch thinges, by the violent domination of certaine that ouerrule her and the whole Realme, ſo as no Catholique can be ſure of his landes or life, longer then th'aduerſarie liſt.

God knoweth we doe not amplifie in the ſight of ſtrangers the calamities of Catholiques in our countrie; whos chaines, dongeons, ſpoiles, flightes, diſgraces, deathes, if al the world could ſee with their eyes, as we doe feele; al the Princes Chriſtian would take compaſſion, and accompt our complaintes moſt iuſt and neceſſary.

Wherin our miſeries are multiplied, that ſuch Libellers as theſe, doe by falſe reportes and miſconſtruction of our ſentence in religiō, guilefullie goe about to diffame vs with forrenners. As for example, when here this fellowe ſayeth that ther be diuers gentlemen Catholiques in England that hold; *The Q. ought not to be gouernour ouer any her ſubiectes in her realme, being perſons Eccleſiaſtical, and yet are not persecuted to death for the ſame, &c.* For their proſecution and perſecution I haue made it plaine before. But for their holding of any ſuch aſſertion, I muſt and doe ſay that it is ſlaunderous, and moſt vntrue. For ther is a great difference to ſay ſhe is not to rule the Biſhops in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, or in matter of miniſtring the Sacraments, preaching, and doctrine; and to ſay, ſhe is not Q. or gouernour ouer the Cleargie, or that Prieſtes or Eccleſiaſtical perſons be not her ſubiects. For they are alſo bound, yea euē monkes and religious, as *S. Chriſoſtome* ſayeth (which this Libeller in an other place alleadgeth ignorātly to proue that in al matters, ſuch ought to obey their tēporal Princes) they are bound (I ſay) to order and obedience of their kinges; and to obſerue their temporal and ciuil lawes made for peace, tranquillitie, and temporal gouernment of their people; &

*The craſtie
cozonage of
this Libel-
ler.*

to doe them al honour and seruice in that behalfe; as the Libeller right wel knoweth that al Catholike Bishops and Prelates of the Church, euer haue done, and doe at this day both in our Realme and in al other Realmes abroad to their lawful Kinges, yea to heathen kinges also; though in matters of religion and of their spiritual charge, neither Heathen nor Christian kinges be their superiours, or ought to direct them, but rather to take direction from them.

Thus then ouer and aboue al former recompted calamities, by opprobrious tongues, lying lippes and pennes, we be persecuted for defence of our Fathers faith & the Churches truth. The cause wherof putteth the difference betwene our Martyrdome, and the due and worthie punishmēt of Heretiques; who shedding their blood obstinatelie in testimonie of falshood, against the truth of Christ and his holie spouse, and out of the vnitie of the same; are knowē malefactors, and can be no Martyrs, but damnable Murtherers of them selues.

The protestant Martyrs how they were traitors.
 One onelie thing belonging to this passage is yet behind, which we must answer to, breeflie. The aduersarie telleth vs that the Martyrs of their sect in Q. Maries time, *denied not their lawful Q. nor maintained her enemies, as ours doe.* A strange boldnesse to auouch a lye without necessitie which al the world can disproue at the first sight. For how say yow (Sir) was not your Archbishop (named here for the principal of al your Martirs) cōuicted & cōdemned opēlie of highe treason; euen for waging souldiars for Duke Dudley (a hateful name to England since Henrie the seuēth tyme; euer aspiring, but stil infortunate to it self and followers) against the Princesse that was then, and her Highenes that is now?

Ridley. Was not your next Martir, Superintēdent Ridley, an high traytor; publiquely preaching and proclaiming
 at

at Paules Crosse in London, both *Q. Marie* and this *Q.* to be bastardes, and to haue no right title to the Croune? Did not your famous superintēdent now of Yorke, (yet no Martir, how so euer he hath suffred of late some heauie Crosse for other causes of homelie qualitie) boldlie publish the same in Cābridge; as also your confessor Iewel of Salisburie had done the like in Oxford if he had not bene in time preuēted? Were not al the packe of your Protestantes, confederated or acquainted wyth Wiates conspiracie and open rebellion against their Prince and Countrie; with other wicked attemptes against the state of that time, as they haue bene sithe, wel neare against al the states and Prouinces Christened? But of this you must needes heare more anon.

This is proved by their owne testimony herafter.

But it is a world to see the cunning winding of this Libeller; for being ashamed as it seemeth, or els in doubt of that which he had boldlie affirmed before; now cometh to foist in a word to salue al (as he thinketh) and that is; *That at their death they denied not their Q. &c.* And in such deceit-ful cobling in of wordes, he passeth no line lightlie without fraude. But for answer herof, we say; that what they did at their death, or the day after, God knoweth: but it is plaine that in their life they were notorious Rebels, as most of that sect be. And how manie of our men (I pray you Sir) of whos liues & deathes so great nōbers can beare witnes; denied their obedience, or meeklie prayed not for the *Q.* at the verie place and tyme of their execution? Euerie one of thē as they liued exemplarie for dutie and loyal behauiour to al their superiours both temporal and spiritual; so yeelded they their happie life and blood in al Apostolical patience, peace, and meeknes; for the faith wherein they, our countrie, and al conuerted nations in the world, were baptized; & for the verie same beleefe wherein th'olde

Anice shift.

58 AN ANSVVERE TO THE LIBEL
glorious Martirs of Godes Church gaue vp their li-
ues.

This Faithe, this Church, this Cause, seuereth our
true Martyrs, from the notorious malefactors of the
contrarie side. And so giueth vs iust cause to cōplaine
of persecution; and th'enimie no reason at al; of
what number, name, obstinacie, age, or
qualitie so euer they be, that haue suf-
fred for their Heresie.



THAT OVR PRIESTS AND CATHOLIQUE BRETHREN HAVE BEHAVED them selues discretlie, and nothing seditiouslie in their answers to the questions of the Bul of Pius Quintus; and that they can not lawfullie be pressed nor put to death as traitors by the true meaning of th'olde lawes of the Realme for the same; v with examination of the six Articles proposed about the said Bul.

CAP. IIII.



IN times of heretical regiment, wher Politiques haue al the gouernment, though Religion be sometimes pretended, as a thing wherof they make their aduantage for th'affaires speciallie intended: yet indeed the first and principal care is of their temporal state; & so consequentlie of the Princes and their owne wel being in this life: the lote wherof, they often preferre with Esau, before the weal of the world to come, the blessing of Iacob, or the kingdome of Christ; which is his reigne & regiment spiritual in the Church, the howse of his glorie & our saluation in earth.

*The difference
betwixt govern-
ment of Po-
litiques and
of true
Christians.*

Contrariwise in Christian Catholique common wealthes the cheefe respect is & euer was (as it ought to be) of the honor of God, the good of holie Church, the saluation of the soules of their people; and so to passe through the secular thinges as eternal ioyes be not lost, and put in hasard.

In which difference of thinges you shal easilie perceiue, that in the dayes of disorder & errour the faultes done against the Prince, or so said to be done, are far more odious and punishable, then what so euer is

The go-
uerment of
Jeroboam.

directlie done against God ; against the Common wealth, then against the Church ; against the bodie, then against the soule ; more adoe about *Cæsars* tribute then about Gods due. As in the time and regiment of *Hieroboam* ; when al the care was how to manage matters so, that the kingdome of *Israel* might be seuered from *Iuda*, and so established in it self that no spiritual vnion by worship in *Hierusalem*, might reduce the deuided tribes to their former state againe ; and al thīgs tendīg to that reuniō were greuouſlie punished, but matters of faith & religion wholie contemned.

In our countrie when God and his kingdome had the first place, the terrene state the second, (as in truth it ought to be ; & wher it is otherwise, whatsoever is pretended, Christ hath no place at al) : then were the crimes committed against God first and principallie punished ; as blasphemie, schisme, and such like : and secondlie, treasons and trespasses done against the Prince & countrie ; whereof. *Q. Maries* dayes and regiment may be an example, when without the forgerie of new or false treasons, the lattelie named Archbishop and other principal heretiques, being conuicted of cōspiracie & open traiterous actions, might haue iustlie suffered for the same ; but yet were rather burned for Heresie, as for their more heinous crime ; and which a Christian Prince ought to regard far more, then anie thing committed against his Regalitie.

But now, and euer when the Superioritie temporal hath the preeminence, & the spītual is but accessorie, dependent, and wholie vpholden of thother ; errour in Fayth is litle accompted of, what so euer their pulpit men (to make them selues and their patrons sport) bral of such matters : and al our doings, endeouours, and exercises of Religion are drawn to treasons and trespasses against the Queene ; them sel-

ues

ues protesting, in al their doings that they medle not with vs for our doctrine what-soeuer; therby ether insinuating that our religion is true and in deed by the iudgement of their owne conscience not punishable; or els that they care not for it, nor what we belecue, no further then toucheth their Prince & temporal weal; wherein yet they wipe so hard, as they draw blood.

For; finding no errors, heresies, or false opinions concerning God & his worship worthie to cōdemne vs of; & being ashamed of their statutes of new treasons (as it seemeth): they haue found out a new fault, and a terme for the same, not vsual ether in writers of our schooles and diuinitie, or in their owne lawes; which they cal trayterous assertions, treasonable & malicious opinions against the Q. as in a former like pamphlet, euil affection or euil disposition towards her Maiestie; which is now the onelic and proper point they pursue against vs both in iudgement and writing. For which as of late they haue put diuers to death: so by the same they trie (as they say) whither Papistes be traytors or no, and accordinglie to vse them. And for better trial therof, they propose vnto al men whom they list make away or otherwise indanger, certaine demandes which in effect are thes that ensue.

Whether the Bul of *Pius Quintus* against the Q. Ma-
iesty be a lauful sentence and ought to be obeyed by
the subiects of England?

I. . .
Demandes
proposed to
Catholikes
for their in-
trapping.

Whether the Q. Maiesty be a lauful Q. and ought
to be obeyed by the subiects of England, notwith-
standing the Bul of *Pius Quintus* or anie other Bul or
sentence that the Pope hath pronounced or may pro-
nounce against her Maiesty?

2.

Whether the Pope haue or had power to authorize
her subiects to rebel or take armes against her or to

3.

inuade her dominions ; and whether such subiects so doing , doe lafullie therein?

4. Whether the Pope haue power to discharge anie of her Maiesties subiects , or the subiects of anie Christian Prince from their alleageance or othe of obedience to her Maiesty, or to their Prince for anie cause?

5. Whether D. Sanders in his booke of the visible Monarchie of the Church , and D. Bristow in his booke of Motiues (writing in allowance , commendation, and confirmation of the said Bul of *Pius Quintus*) haue therein taught, testified, or maintained a truth or a falsehood?

6. Yf the Pope doe by his Bul or sentence pronounce her Maiesty to be depriued , and no laful Q. and her subiects to be discharged of their alleageance and obedience vnto her ; and after, the Pope or anie other by his appointment and authoritie doe inuade this Realme ; which part would you take, or which part ought a good subiect of England to take?

Wherin if you say nothing, or refuse to answer somewhat in contempt or derogation of the sea Apostolique ; then are you iudged no good subiect, but a traytor ; wherby let al Princes and People Christian beare witnes of our miseries and iniust afflictions ; who are inforced to suffer death, for our onelie cogitations and inward opinions , vnduelie sought owt by force and feare, & yet not condemned by anie Christian schoole in the world, nor vttered by vs but vpon forcing interrogatories ; we hauing committed nothing by word or deed against our Prince or lawes ; but doing al actes of honour and homage vnto her, & suffering meekelie what punishment so euer she would lay vpon vs for our Religion ; for so most part of al sortes of Catholiques haue done both in Englad and Ireland for this twentie five years space ; onelie a verie few Nobles of both countries taking once

The behaviour of English Catholikes since the Bul of Pius Quintus.

armes

armes for their defence, in al this long time of intolerable affliction: (the like patience you shal hardlie find in Protestātes, as their furious rebellions against their Soueraignes in France, Flandres, and Scotland doe testifie:) our Nobles & gentlemen hauing borne al thos anguishes of bodie and mind, with losse of honours, countrie, landes & libertie for so long time; haue both at home and abroad obeyed her with such loialtie, as subiects ought to doe their Soueraigne; neuer tooke armes in al Englād vpō the Bul of *Pius Quintus*, nor anie time since the publication therof: (contrarie to the deceitful diuisiō of thos times, things, & actions set doune by the Libeller; placing that after, which was done before the Bul was published): but haue shewed them selues in al cases as seruiceable as before.

The Clergie men also, whether religious, Priestes, or students of the two colledges in Rome and Rhenes; whether they were in the seruice of their countrie at home, or in the schooles absent; did al in maner (notwithstāding the said Cēsure of his Holines) vse al due reuerēce & respect; vtterīg in no preachīg speech, or booke, no nor at the houre of their death & Martirdome, nor euer before in anie their confessions to the Magistrate, anie disloyal worde against her Maiesty. No (which we further auouch) not anie one Priest of the Societie or Seminaries can be prooued by the aduersarie to haue absolved in secret Confession anie one man liuing from his allegiance; or to haue euer ether in publique or priuate, dissuaded anie one person in the Realme from his obedience in Ciuil causes to the Q.

Furthermore it is certaine that neuer Priest had anie such Commission giuen hitherto by ether the Popes Holines, or such other superiours in Religion or college, to deale in anie such matters touching the

*The proceeding of
Cleargie-men
concerning the
Bul.*

*Priests
Commis-
sions.*

Neither is ther anie such thing implied in ether the authoritie or act of reconcilment ; how so euer the ielous enimie hath found knots in thos rushes that of the selues are smooth. As the contrarie is doubtles most true ; the Gouvernours of the students alwayes of purpose prohibiting, and as much as in such numbers of al sortes (not al euer hauing discretion to season their zeale) could be , prouiding that in the cours of our schoole questions and controuersies concerning the Popes preeminence , no matter of depriuing or excommunicating Princes should be disputed ; no, not so much as in generalities, and much lesse, the particularizing of anie point in our Q. case. Which matter notwithstanding it be determinable by Diuinitie, and doe come in cours to be handled in schooles as other questios doe : yet because it is incident to matter of state , (as now our countrie most vnfortunatly standeth) and consequently might be interpreted by the suspicious to be ment of her, whos case men liked lest to deale in ; it was thought best to passe ouer al with silence.

The particular doings of D. Sanders & of D. Bri-stoe.

Which moderation was kept in al places and persons of our Nation; (two onelie learned men of great zeale & excellencie indeed, D. Saunders and D. Bri-stowe excepted) who had their special reasons to doe as they did which we wil neither defend nor reprove: but manie Catholiques were sorie therfore, and wished the matter so offensiue had neuer bene touched, but committed onelie to higher powers, and especiallie to Gods iudgement; that he might, ether in this world or the next, (wher both Popes & Princes must come to their accomptes) discern of the cōtrouersie betwixt our two superiours: th'one being our spiritual Head and Soueraigne, who is the higher and in matter of Religion rather to be obeyed: th'other our temporal Prince, to whom likewise in such sort and

sort and matter as the Holie Scriptures appoint vs, we owe al dutie and obeisance.

Wherupō afterwarde not onely D. Bristow omitted in his second edition or abridgement of his booke that odious point, not fit at that time to be handled: but D. Saunders also, (though his former treatise was not of anie stranger Catholique and learned, in anie nation misliked; being more free therin, because they be not entangled by authoritie and sway of lawes as we are) yet called he in and suppressed to his liues end, a verie learned booke made in defence of *Pius Quintus* his sentence, and printed aboue fortene years since; no copie therof that is knowen, being now extant. Which cours of moderation al Catholiques of al sortes both spiritual and temporal haue followed euer since, restraining (as much as in them lay) the rigour of that sentence.

And the blessed Martyr F. Campian him self as is recited in the storie of his arraignment, falling in talke with a certaine principal Cardinal in Rome at his first arriual ther, (a dozen years sithence, and not manie after the Bul was published); he being asked of English affaires, and how the Catholiques so much distressed helde yet out, and what effect th'excommunication had: answered, that the Bul was troublesome to them, and cause of the Q. more heauie hand vpon them: Insinuating that it were good it were mitigated, so that it should not bind the subiects, but that they might obey her, as their laūful Princeesse, notwithstanding anie contrarie sentence of the sea Apostolike before giuē. Which good office of speech and meaning, the aduersaries were not ashamed to charge him withal in his iudgement.

As their follie and partialitie are also so great herein, that in this Libel they speciallie put doune, to proue both the said good Father, and his Superiour

*The speech
of Father
Campian at
Rome.*

*Touching
the petition
of F. Per-
sons and*

*F. Campia
for mode-
ratio of the
Bul and
Censure.*

the Reuerend F. Robert Persons, guiltie of treason; for that they made special sute vnto his Holines that now is, to qualesie the Censure of his predeceffour; at least so far, that it might not bind, or make culpable anie her Catholique subiectes in consciēce, for obeying and seruing her as their Soueraigne; how so euer it stood against the Protestants, who neither looked nor cared to be discharged of it; as the Catholiques, for conscience sake, most desired to be free. They knew his Holines would not wholie alter that censure; the case standing with the principal partie as it did before his predecessors sentence. They knew the Q. and protestants them selues made no accompt thereof nor desired to be looffe. They knew it singularlie pertained to the safetie of her person and the quiet of the state, that the Catholiks were perswaded, they might lauffullie obey her as their Q. and Gouvernesse, notwithstanding the said sentence. They knew the subiects would gladlie doe that with safetie of consciēce, as a way far more secure for both them selues and the Q. which they did before onely for feare. They knew they could not profitablie proceed in their spiritual worke of confessing, conuerting and reconciling the subiects to the Holie Church, except they might by Apostolique warrant resoluē them for their laufful obedience to the Q. They thought good wher neither the Pope could be induced, without the repentance of the partie, to cal in the censure, nor the Q. to yeeld to anie condition that way; rather thus to seeke for mitigation, then to leaue it in ful force still; and finally, rather thus by moderation and sweetness to temporize betwixt both their Superiors; to see whether God might not moue the hart of her Maiesty, wholie lying in his hand, to enter into some good conditions, for her reuniting to the communion of the Christiā world; th'onlie way of sauīg her Realme
in this

in this world, and her soule in the next,

Alas; what euil office haue thes good Fathers done herein? What treason is committed more now, then if they had desired his Holines to haue discharged the Q. and Protestants also of al bond of that Bul? How could ether they or the rest of the Priests doe more dutifullie and discretlie in this case, then to prouide that al such with whom they onely had to deale, might stand free and warranted in their obedience, and commit the rest that cared not for Excommunication to the iudgement of God?

By al which we may see the notable discret and sincere dealing of Catholiques al this while about fifene years that this sentence hath bene extant and published; and their manifold endeouours to mitigate and ease the burthen therof, in al such as might therbie haue remorse to obey and acknowledge the Q. Regalitie. Neuer writing of the matter, nor dealing in it, but to th'end of pacification, publique rest, and securitie of the state; brought into brandle and doubt, by this vnhappie alteration in Religion. And so they might haue had al the learned of our nation either silent in the question of th'excommunication, or mitigators of it stil; had not the vnwise and verie impolitique importunitie of certaine in gouernment (seeking by al direct or idirect driftes the blood of poore Catholiques) forced men to their needful defence & interpretation of their meaning herein: yea verelie to seeke with diligence the truth of the matter, which of purpose they did let passe before, as a thing impertinent to their edification or saluation.

Which they did the rather; for that *Pius Quintus* the author therof being departed, his successor *Gregorie* the thirteenth that now happely sitteth in the Apostolique throne, neuer reuiued the same (that we know of) but by conniuece and expectation of our Q. and

The excommunication of K. Hen. 8. by Pope Paulus tertius.

Countries returne to holie Churches peace and to the societie of other Christian kinges, suffred the sentence after a sort to die, specially so far as it concerned the Catholiques (as is said): euen as the like Censure of excommunication and depriuation published by *Paulus Tertius* against K. Henrie th'eight did passe ouer in peace to his dying day, by the patience of other Popes following; and the manie hopes and proffers which the said king made, of his returne to the Churches obedience againe, though preuented by death it pleased not God to make him worthe of the same.

The desire of Catholiques to auoid matter of state.

And this was the Catholiques honest desire and behauour touching th'excommunication euer since the publishing therof: vntil now of late, whē by their interrogatories and new order of most bloodie, vnlawful, and vnwise search of mens consciences; not deedes words or writings, but verie inward opiniōs, thoughtes and cogitations of hart, are wrong out of men by the questions before rehearsed. Whereby not onely diuers holy Priestes that haue suffered, but also some other being strangelic and conninglic brought into this odious and dangerous matter of state, and pressed against their wils to say their cogitatiōs; they did notwithstanding as much as was possible, auoide anie wayes so to determine or answere, as might be preiudicial to their allegiance: which they obserued, not onelie whilest they had hope of life, but euē after their condemnation also, and at the very last houre of death.

The diuers answers of sondrie to the for named interrogatories.

Some meeklic and discretlic declined from the questiō one way, some an other: but alwith great shew of honestie, fidelitie, and innocencie. One (as Father Campian) answered; they were controuersies and questiōs not determinable ī that court, but in schoole.

An other; that he thought the Pope, that gaue the sentence,

ſentence, might erre in ſome caſes: that is, though not in doctrine, yet i fact; for wāt of informatiōs, prooves, and other circumſtances needfullie in ſuch caſes to be obſerved: but whether he did erre or no, and abuſe his authoritie in this Cēſure; that he referred to God, himſelf not being ſufficient to iudge of his Superiours doinges.

Some ſaid; they neuer ſaw the Bul in their life, and therefore could not anſwere of the ſenſe or force thereof, nor be guiltie of anie crime towards her Maieſtie, conteined in the ſame; no nor ſhould euer haue much thought or heard of it, had not the other now reuiued the matter.

One or two answered; that they were not ſo learned as to diſcuſſe extēpore al thoſe matters conteined in their demaundes: but that they eſteemed of al in general, as the holie Catholique Church teacheth, which is (ſaid they) the Romane Church.

Some ſaid; ther were or might be cauſes, as if a Prince ſhould fal to Apoſtaſie, Arrianisme, or ſuch like, that deſerued excommunication & deprivation: in which caſe the Pope might diſcharge the ſubiects from their obedience; but of the Q. particular caſe they would not talke at al.

To be ſhort; ſome being demaunded what they would doe, or aduiſe others to doe, if the matter ſhould come to batail for Religion, as it fel out in Ireland, answered: they would doe when that happened (which they truſted would not ſo chaunce) as good prielts ought to doe; that is, pray for peace; and that truth and iuſtice in warre might preuaile.

In al which you ſee; on th'one ſide, how carefullie al men eſchewed to vtter their opinions in anie other wordes but ſuch as could, in truth, no way giue offence to the Q. or ſtate: on th'other, into what marvellous perplexitie the miniſters and mainteiners of he-

resie ar brought, that cannot but by such violent meanes be secure in their sect ; nor vphold their foule practices against God , the Church , and their owne Countrie.

The unreasonable dealing of our persecutors.

Let our Christian brethré of al nations iudge of the causes, meanes , and measure of our calamities. We neuer procured our Q. excommunication ; we haue sought the mitigation therof ; we haue done our allegiance notwithstanding ; we haue answered , when we were forced vnto it , with such humilitie and respect to her Maiesty and Counsel , as you see ; no man can charge vs of anie attempt against the Realme , or the Princes person : Yet not content with this they wil knowe what we wil doe hereafter , if such or such a thing should chaunce ; they wil sound al the Catholiques hartes in the Realme ; & (which is more then Antichristian violēce) they wil punish them as traitors by death most cruel , for their onelie thoughtes : Yea , (which God him self doth not) for future faultes neuer committed , nor perhappes euer like to come to passe.

Which search of mens future factes or intentions , wherof them selues haue ncither knowledge nor rule before hand ; is vnnatural , intollerable , and to common wealthes most pernicious : & were able to make al the Catholiques of the Realme to be wholie desperate ; not finding their loyal behauiour (shewed in al kinde of office and seruice to their Prince) sufficient to saue their liues : but may be examined of thes captious and deadlie chapters ; of their inwarde opiniōs and purposes to come ; when the Magistrate , or anie mans one powrable enimie , list require it. Especiallie now whē their vulgar ministers giue it out generallie , that al thos whom they cal Papistes be in their hartes traitors ; and this Libeller sayth , thos foresaid questions are most proper to trie them.

Into

Into such thraldome of bodie and soule hath that barbarous heresie brought vs, & them also into thos hazardes of their state; which they pretend to be the causes of thes their so extraordinarie proceedinges, as may be thought were neuer before vsed, nor laulful by nature or custome of anie Ciuil countrie in earth.

Some such demaundes the Scribes and Pharesies and other of the Iewes sectaries, proposed in times past to our Sauour, to intrap him in speech, & to driue him to vtter some treasonable wordes or cōcept against the Emperours regalitie ouer the people of God; which they presumed to be euil thought of of diuers, and speciallie of the better and more exact zelators of the lawe, notwithstanding that ether for feare or other causes euerie one seemed in al exterior offices to obey. Of which tempting questions, though Christ by his diuine wisdome easilie discharged him self; neuerthelesse they ceased not stil to exclaime; *Hunc inuenimus prohibentem tributa dare Cafari*; as others did afterward the like of S. Stephen and S. Paul: and euen so now our English Saduces are not satisfied but by blood, neuer resting til they haue pressed or suckt out something, at least for mens intentions or other casual euentes to come, that may sound against their duties to the Q.: Such is our present menage of state in England, & into such termes are we brought of extremitie.

The proceeding of the Iewes with Christ.

When al other pretences, practizes, forged crimes, and false witnesses against Priests or Catholiques doe faile; then are thes made iust quarels of their death, and the highest treasons in the world: *viz* to affirme vpon their vnreasonable and importune demaundes, that if (which God forbid) the Q. by supposall, should fal to Arrianisme, Apostacie or Atheisme (whervnto mans frailtie is subiect) she might be depriued and her subiects discharged of obedience to

her: this is the onelic treason which they haue tried out of Catholiques. Which for al that in truth cannot be treason, how plainlie or voluntarily so euer it were spoken; much lesse being wrested out by commandement and subtile drift of interrogatories.

*The questio
of the Popes
Supremacie
a matter of
Diuinitie
and not of
State.*

The Libeller saieth nothing is punished in vs for question of Conscience or Religion: but yet this is such in the sight of al resonable men in the world. For it is a mere matter of Diuinitie, if not defined for vs, yet at least disputable in schoole as them selues will confesse. It concerneth the Popes supremacie and power Apostolical; for which this Libeller affirmeth and repeateth often that none be endangered of life or limme in England. This proposition (I say) or anie other equiualent to it, *viz*, That the Pope hath power to excommunicate or depriue a Prince in case of Heresie or Apostacie; and consequentlie, to absolue his subiects from their othe and obedience to him; or to stand in defence of them selues and the Catholique faith against him; cannot be proued treason by the statute of Edward the third, vpon which onelic he sayeth we be condemned for traitours. Who so euer should auouch the same, in anie Christian countrie in the world; or in our owne countrie, in the time of the said K. Edward had held the same opinion; should not, nor could not haue bene conuicted of treason, treasonable assertion, or euil affection to the Prince or countrie; because it standeth with the honor and safetie of the whole common wealth, and the rulers therof, so far to be subiect and obedient to Christ and his Church, that they count them selues no longer to stand or reigne rightfullie, then they stand and reigne for the aduauncement of Gods truth and kingdome in earth, which is his Church.

What treason had it bene to Q. Marie (whos regiment for an exāple of their greefe & our cōtentmēt,
this

this Libeller so often alleageth) if in scoole, booke or pulpit, it had bene affirmed, that for Heresie or Atheisme, a Prince, or her self might be deposed:

Yf in the famous vniuersitie of Paris, or honorable college of Sorbon, that conclusion of diuinitie were defended, that the Pope in case of Heresie, might censure their king; would that trouble his most Christian Maiesty, who desireth no longer to reigne, then he doth aduaunce the glorie of Christ? The like might be said of th'other great Monarch of Spaine; who would not haue his owne issue (which God almightie blesse) succede him, if it were not Catholique. No more would th'Emperours sacred Maiesty; no nor the Popes Holines (in spiritual affaires and regiment of our soules, superior to al the rest) count anie of his owne subiects traitors; for houlding, that in case of Heresie or Apostacie, he might be deposed or loose the right of his place and dignitie.

*What
forraine
Princes ac-
cept of such
proposuions,*

We aske here the Libeller; by what law or custome, Canon, Ciuil or National of our countrie or other, is this made treason? Or why it should be more treason in England then in anie other place? seing no lawe hitherto hath passed by authoritie against the same; nor anie opinion, to be compted preiudicial to anie Prince or state; no assertion treasonable that is true in diuinitie: for that no truth agreable to Gods lawe and mans, can be contrarie to the lauful soueraigntie of anie power or potentate in earth.

But you wil say (and that is al you can say) that though the general proposition, that Princes for Heresie may be deposed, were true; yet th'application therof to her Maiestie in particuler, may be treason; for that it is made high treason by act of Parliamēt in the thirteenth yeare of the Q. reigne for anie to cal her an Heretique or a Shismaticque vnder paine of death.

*An obie-
ction vvith
the an-
swer.*

To which we answere; first, that our affirming that

she may be deposed for Heresie, doth not at al auouch her to be one; no more then the like assertion of the K. of Spaine would implie him to be such an one, or vs to thinke him such an one: and therefore if your owne conscience accuse your selues, or giue you suspicion that what soeuer is said toucheth you; it is you that applic the general speech to your owne particular and not we. Secondlie we say, that your said law may bind vs that be subiects not to speake so vnreuerentlie of her, to whom God hath giuen power ouer vs in this lyfe, as to cal her Heretique, Infidel, or Schismaticque (for thos be the termes of your statute) though we should know her damnably to erre in Religion: but the Pope is not subiect to that lawe, but he may according to th'authoritie giuen vnto him, determine by the lawes of God & holie Church, who is an Heretique; and so wil the learned of foraine schooles whether you wil or no, applic the definition of Heresie or of an Heretique, to what person they please.

As for vs & our brethren executed, you know none euer called the Q. Heretique voluntarilie, contemptuousslie, or malitiousslie, as your statute runneth; but when they were driuen by you of set purpose to offend the lawe, so to haue some quarel to make them away.

*The malice
of our per-
secutours in
driving and
inforcing
men to of-
fend their
lawes.*

For example of your charitable and no lesse politique dealing in such matters, we wil set doune the holie Martyr Iohn Nelsons case. This man being brought before the Magistrate, was demaunded what Religion he was of? to which when he bouldlie answered that he was a Catholique; they further asked what he thought of that Religion and seruice which was vsed in England: and to that when he answered that he tooke it to be heretical and schismatical; then (quoth they) what is Schisme? A volūtarie reuolt (said he)

he) from the Romane and Catholique Church. Wel then said the Magistrate ; goe toe ; what thinkest thou of the Q. is she a Schismaticque or no? (for of anie thing said before they had no iust pretence of law to cōdemne him of treason) : the man of God answered, that he neuer so called her for reuerence of her highe dignitie ; nor could tel (for that he knew not her Maiesties meaning) whether this Religion were established by her special commandement and authoritie or no ; and therefore humblie prayed them , not to vrge him wittinglie to commit anie crime , wherein hitherto he had neuer offended. But they would not so cease ; but said they could wel resolue him in that, that in deed this English religion was established by her , and by her mainteined : the Confessor refused stil to answere ; saying that he knew not so much , for al that , of her mind & cōscience , but it might proceed rather of some of her ministers more then of her self : in which sort (as S. Augustine noteth) a man may be deceaued by heretiques but yet properlie no heretique ; *Hæreticis credens, & non propriè Hæreticus*. But because they would needes haue the poore mans death, they left him not so ; but what (say they) if she were the author of this religion , then whether were she a Schismaticque , or Heretique , or no? The Confessor being loth to exasperate the Prince on the one side, and more loth to offend God or giue scandal on thother ; after he had paused a while , and asked strength from aboue , finallie he said ; if she be the setter forth and defender of this Religion , then she is a Schismaticque & Heretique in deed. And so they got the holie person into the cōpasse of their lawe , for which afterward he was Martired.

Now we doe appeale to the equitie of al Christian people how loth our brethren be to offend by word or deed the honour of the Q. ; & after what a shame-

A difference
betwene
an Hereti-
que and one
that beleue-
ueth Hereti-
ques.

The offence
of Catholi-
ques con-
fessed.

ful captious sort, they be forced to doe or say that, which the enimie chargeth them withal, euen to death. Alas; it is not Catholiques that applie thos vniuersal truthes of schooles, to the particuler case of our state: but it is their owne vneuen driftes, questiōs, feares, and suspicions, that make them imagine and conuert al to them selues. As also it is their errour in regiment (wel near as may be doubted incorrigible) that hath brought them selues to thes perplexities, and vs to thes coacted miseries and complaints.

Lastlie we say; that how soeuer anie one Catholique or other hath bene driuē or shalbe forced hereafter to offend against the said Statute of Supremacy or Heresy, or against any new law made in that behalf; yet in equity they cannot be pursued to death for that cause; seing our aduersary protesteth here publicuely in his Libel, that no other trespasses shalbe obiected to vs as matter capital, sauīg treasōs so made by th'olde lawes of the Realme. As we for our partes cōsents doe protest and auowe before God (seing we are now inforced to treate of thes affaires) that whatsoeuer we haue said or shal say in this our defence or remonstrance touching the former articles and demandes about the Bul; nether hath bene nor shalbe by vs anie wise spoken, mēt or applied, against our natural Princeesse or cōtrie; how soeuer anie suspicious, malicious, or guiltie mind shal peraduēture conser or apply the same. Nether shal the matter be otherwise treated of by me in this place, but in such general termes as the schooles vse; without touching anie particular person now liuing: referring the applicatiō of al to Gods Church and to the cheefe Pastors therof; and to the conscience of euerie good Christian reader to whose handes this booke may chance to come. As on thother side, we wil not busie our selues to defend euerie priuate mans writing or actiō concerning the matter
of

A protestation before the entrance to the treatise of the former demandes about the Bul.

of th'Ecommunication, but wil without partialitie and personal quarel, for a common Apologie of vs al, declare and prooue the assertiōs of the Popes power and superioritie ouer kinges in cases of Heresie, Apostacie, and other like; to be agreeable to Gods word, and not treasonable nor vndutiful to anie Prince or State in the world; but beneficial to al and euery common wealth vnder Heauen, whos gouernment is cōteined within the prescript of Iesus Christ our Redeemers law.

But first before we come to the declaration of Catholique doctrine concerning Churches authoritie in censuring & deposing Princes for matter of Religiō, it shal not be amisse perhappes to set doune the iudgment and practize of Protestants in the same case: which though it weigh litle or nothing with vs as being altogether both done and spoken of seditious and partial affection to their Heresie, and against the lausful Magistrate of God: yet th'aduersarie seing his owne Masters against him, shal wel perceauē that the resisting of Princes and Magistrates in cause of Religion, as also the subiects taking armes for their defence in such a case, is no way to be accounted treason; but most lausful, according to their new Ghospel.

The Protestantes opinion and practise for depositiō of Princes in case of false Religion.

And first their grand-maister, Io. Calvin putteth doune his oracle, as a conclusion approued of their whole sect and confraternitie in thes wordes. *Abdicant se potestate, terreni Principes, dum insurgunt cōtra Deum: 25.*

In Dan. cap. 6. Ver. 22.

Imo indigni sunt qui censeantur in hominum numero. Potius ergo conspuere oportet in illorum capita, quā illis parere. ubi sic proteruiunt ut velint spoliare Deum suo iure, &c. Which in English is thus. Earthlie Princes doe bereaue them selues of al authoritie when they doe erect them selues against God, yea they are vnworthie to be accounted in the number of men: and therefore we must rather spit vpo their heades, thē obey them; when they

The doctrine of Father Calvin.

„ become so proude, or peruerse, that they wil spoile
 „ God of his right; & to the same place I further referre
 „ the reader for his instruction.

*The doctrine
 of brother
 Beza.*

*In editione.
 An. 1564.*

*The opinion
 of the Con-
 gregation.
 Art. 39.*

For declaration of which text, and for cutting of all
 cauillation about th'interpretatiō of his wordes, their
 brother Beza; shal speake next who alloweth & highly
 commendeth in writing, the fighting in France for re-
 ligion, against the lawes and lawful K. of that Coun-
 trie; saying in his epistle dedicatorie of his new testa-
 ment to the Q. of England her self; That the Nobili-
 tie of France (vnder the noble Prince of Condey) laid
 „ the first foundation of restoring true Christian religiō
 „ in France, by consecrating most happilie their blood
 „ to God in the batail of Druze. Wherof also the Mini-
 sters of the reformed Frēch Churches (as their phrase
 is) doe giue their common verdict, in the confession
 of their faith, thus. We affirme that subiects must
 „ obey the lawes, pay tribute, beare al burthens impo-
 „ sed, and susteine the yoke euen of infidel Magistrates;
 „ so for al that, that the supreme dominion and due of
 „ God be not violated.

*The sentēce
 of Zwin-
 glius. lib. 4.
 Epist. Zv-
 inglii &
 Oecol.
 fol. 186.*

4. Reg. 21

Zwinglius likewise a cater-cosen to the Caluini-
 stes in religion, writeth thus. If the Empire of Rome,
 or what other Soueraigne so euer, should oppresse the
 sincere religion, and we necligentlie suffer the same;
 we shalbe charged with contempt, no lesse then the
 oppressors therof thē selues: wherof we haue an exā-
 ple in the fiftenth of Ieremie, wher the destruction of
 the people is prophecied; for that they suffred their
 K. Manasses, being impious and vngodly, to be vnpu-
 nished.

*Art. 42.
 explanat.
 Fol. 84.*

And more plaine in an other place. When kinges
 „ (saith he) rule vnfaithfullie; and otherwise then the
 rule of the Gospel prescribeth, they may, with God,
 be deposed: as, when they punish not wicked persons,
 but speciallie when they aduaunce the vngodlie, as
 idle

idle Priests, &c. such may be depriued of their dignitie, as Saul was. ”

And what our English Protestants writ or thinke of this matter, you shal wel perceiue, by their opiniō & high approbation of Wiats rebellion in Q. Maries dayes: wherof one of their cheefe Ministers called Goodman thus speaketh in his Treatise entituled; *Hovv superior magistrats ought to be obeyed. VVyat did but his dutie, and it vvas the dutie of al others that professe the Gospel, to haue risen vvith him, for maintenance of the same. His cause vvas iust, and they al vvere traitors that tooke not part vvith him. O Noble VVyat thou art novv vvith God, & thos vvorthie men that died for that happie enterpryse &c.* Goodmans opinion. Cap. 14.2 pag. 204. ad pa. 212

What the Scottish Ministerie defineth in this question, is plaine, by the verdict of Iohn Knoles their mightiest Prophet; the argument of a treatise of this matter being set doune by him self, thus: *If the people haue either ras helie promoted anie manifest vvicked person, or els ignorantlie chosen such an one, as after declareth him self vnvvorthie of regiment aboue the people of God (and such be al Idolators and cruel persecutors) most iustlie may the same men depose and punish him.* The iudgement of the Scottishe Minister. Io. Knoles. Ibidem. pag. 77.

So Luther also the Protestants Elias being asked his opinion of the Almans cōfederacie, made at Smalcalde against Charles the fift their laful & noble Emperour; answered: *That in deed he vvas in doubt for a time, vvwhether they might take armes against their Supreme Magistrate, or no; but after vvard seing the extremitie of thinges, and that Religion could not othervvise be defended, nor them selues; he made no conscience of the matter, but ether Cæsar, or anie, vvaging vvarres in his name, might be resisted.* The opinio and definition of Luther. Sled. Hist. lib. 8.

Sledan also recordeth that the Duke of Saxonie & the Lantzgrane, gaue this reason, of their taking armes against their supreme Magistrate: For as much (say they) as Cæsar intendeth to destroy the true religion and our anciēt libertie; he giueth vs cause inough, why ”

we may with good conscience resist him, as both by
prophane and sacred histories may be prooued.

Lib. 22. The same writer reporteth the like of the Ministers
of Magdeburge; declaring how the inferiour may
defend him self against the superior, compelling him
to doe against the truth and rule of Christes lawes.

By al which you see; that to resist the Magistrat,
defend them selues in cases of consciēce, and to fight
against the superiour for religion, is a cleere and ruled
case; and no treasonable opinion at al against the Prin-
ce, if we wil be iudged by Protestants: wherein their
known facts be far more notorious, then their writ-
tings. For that Beza and other the cheefe ministers
of the French Caluinical Congregations, were them-
selues in feeld, against two or thre of their natural leige-
lordes and kinges.

*The exam-
ples of
the Prote-
stants ta-
king armes
for their
Religion.*

Zwinglius also the vnfortunate Father of our En-
glish faith, was killed in the battail as al the world
knoweth; and therby it is euident, that the instance of
D. Saunders who followed of zeale the late commo-
tion in Ireland, can not be so much obiected to the
Catholiques reprocht as th'aduersarie would haue it
seeme; whos report notwithstanding of the manner of
his death, is also a verie slaunderous vntruth.

The Protestants of Flanders held it for a most cer-
taine truth (by the approbation also and sollicitation
of England) that they might rebel against their su-
preme Magistrate, for Religion; when by force of
armes they altered al, and deposed their Soueraigne.
Which ought the more to weigh with th'English
Caluinistes, for that (as I haue signified) their pud-
ding lay also in that fier. As likewise it is wel knowē
that them selues haue bene the cheefest procurers and
doers in the depriuing of the laful and annoited Q.
of Scotland; and for her further affliction, haue kept
her also in captiuitie, thes fourtene years together.

And

And here in thes cases of their owne, no treasonable propositions; no resisting of *Gods annointed*; no disobeying the king, *as being the most precellent*; no ouerruling the person *that acknowledgeth no superior in earth, but holdeth onely of God*; (for al thes termes the Libeller seemeth to make great aduantage of, against the resisters of our Q. & deposing of her Maiestie by the sea Apostolique) can haue place or beare sway. But when it cometh to a point of their owne freshe and flourishing religion; then neither vnction, nor laful succession, nor anie other princelie prerogatiue can serue laful Magistrates, or saue them from their subiects furie: th'English brethren euer speciallie assisting the rebellion; as wel by their diuinitie, as otherwise by force of armes to their power.

The variable & mutable dealing of Protestants.

The question therefore is not (nether is it material to the purpose which the Libeller so much flourisheth verie idlie) of the Princes laful creation or consecration: but whether a Prince lafullie inuested and annointed, may be for anie cause, namelie for matter of Religion, resisted by his subiects? We say that the Protestants of al sectes doe both holde and practize it, England it self speciallie allowing of the same. And therefore ther is no treason in this case, if we folowe the present diuinitie of England: nor new example, if we respect the furious attempts and rebellions of Scotland, Flaunders, Fraunce, and Germanie, against their superiours, for maintenance of their heresies; & al wel allowed by the ministerie of euerie Prouince. And vpon thes examples you should look (my Masters of England) when you make so much adoe for one poore commotion, made in defence of the Catholiques, in twentie six yeares space of the greatest persecution and tribulation that euer was since the Gothes and Vandals times, Wher if the Q. had holden her Antcestours faith, and had ruled ouer so

The true state of the question about resisting of Princes.

manie protestants but a quarter of the time, afflicting them, as she hath done Catholiques (though perhaps not her self so much as her vnmerciful Ministers) her Maiesty should haue seene other maner of attemptes against her state and quietnes, then haue fallen by Catholiques ether in England or Ireland in this her reigne. Which her long prosperitie in gouernment, proceedeth speciallic of the said Catholiques timorous consciēce, quietnes of nature, loue of order & obediēce, & great detestatiō of garboiles, sturres & troubles.

The scornful speeches of Heretiques to Catholikes.

Which the verie Heretiques them selues haue oftē reprochfullie and scornfullie imputed vnto them openlie; saying to some of great accompt, whom they had afflicted extremelie. What wil you or what dare you doe? Your hartes we know, and your wishes; but you are verie cowardes and beastes that be Papistes. We stād in no feare of your forces or what soeuer you can doe against vs. Yea the verie ministers wil out of pulpits protest, that the Papistes shal neuer haue the world for them, come what change of Prince or lawes so euer, for they wil fight for it to death.

The different natures of Catholiques and of Protestants.

Which challenge and vaunt they make on euerie hand so boldlie, (and yet verie vndiscreetlie) because they see the Catholiques, more sadde, graue, honest, and quiet natured men, consisting of deuout and aged persons and of godlie weemen: wher as the Protestants, now in possession of state, goodes and gouernment, ar risen (most of the principal) by alteration; spoile and factiō; their cheefe folowers youthful persons, venterous, and desperate; and the rest both of laitie, and speciallic cleargie, entangled by the present commodities and pleasures (which this new Religion yeeldeth, in al fleshlie lustes and turpitude) are impatient, vindicatiue, restless, and furious: and in a verie few (in comparison of Catholiques and quiet men) make a great shew and a terrible muster, in the sight of
of

of quiet honest and peaceable persons.

Now thes violent and factious men when the Prince & lawes goe for them, they make their aduantage therof: but if they be against the, they breake al bodes of obedience, despise dominatiō, make spoile and hauocke of al thinges, and runne headlong into al most detestable disorders.

If you marke the you shal perceiue, they make their market most in the minoritie of Princes or of their infirmitie; as ī Englād, in K. Edwards time; In Fraunce vnder the deceased two yong brethren of his Maiesty that now is; In our countrie againe, by the infirmitie of the Princeesse sexe that now reigneth (otherwise truly of most excellent giftes) but alwayes a woman, easilie seduced, and not hardlie ledde and drawen by thos, whom she ether trusteth or feareth: ī which case commonlie, the more gentle or innocent the Soueraigne is; the more violent is the gouernment, through th'abuse of their simplicitie, by the tyrannie of such as occupie vnder them principal authoritie.

The seditions and craftie practise of Protestants,

How this sort of men abused the years sexe and benignitie also of the noble ladie now Q. of Scotland, whos fortune therbie hath bene so hard as the world now seeth; & withal how they haue abused her most high and excellent Sonnes minoritie, to th'aduancement of their sect and selues; no man can be ignorant. And now when that rare Prince is come to years of knowledge, and therby like to espie and punish the wicked treacherie and treasons of thos that haue so abhominablie abused his infancie and Mothers sexe; they barbarousslie, by the counsel of wicked Ministers (the raskalitie of the Realme) ceazed vpon his royal person: and sithence being deliuered by God from his enemies handes, they sticke not to tel him to his face, that he was erected by them to defend this new and barbarous Gospel of theirs: and onelie vpon feare of

The traitours of Scotland.

his further years they seeke to put his noble person in dailie danger.

This loe is the deuotion of Protestants towards their Princes, agreable to their former opinions recited before. But of their diuinitie we make no further accompt, then is requisite for this dispute now in hād with their fellowe Protestants, and with thos specialle of England, who are the principal protectors of al thes practizes coloured by religion; wherof yet they haue no further care, thē cōcerneth onely their owne interest. But it is sufficient for vs, that with thes men (if we may beleue ether their words or deeds) it is no treason to resist the Soueraigne, for defence of Religion; nor no treasonable assertion to hould that a laulful Prince may be deposed in case of reuolt from God. And so say also on the other side al Catholique men and schooles in the Christian world concerning this point. But yet here is the difference betwene Catholique Christians, and rebellious Heretiques; that thes good-fellowes, folowing their owne deceitful wils, and vncertaine opinions, without rule or reason, doe adiudge by their priuate follie and phantasie, that thing to be errour or idolatrie, which indeed is true Religion; and doe condemne for Gods enemies such their laulful Souerains, as holy Church (which herein must be our cheefe informer and iudge) doth allow for most iust, godly, sacred, and Catholique Princes.

The Catholiques contrariwise, as men of order & obedience, not trusting their owne particuler imaginations or partial affections, which might lead opiniatiue and restless brains to raise rebellion at their pleasure vnder pretense of religion (wherof the Protestants haue giuē vs pitiful examples thes years past, when soeuer the wicked desired chāge of gouernours and estate) doe commit the direction of matters so important, to the Church and to the cheefe gouernours

*The difference
of proceeding
of Catholiques
and Protestants
in ensuring
their Princes
for Religion.*

hours of their soules: who can iudge, by the Scriptures, Canons and Councels, what is Heresie; who is an Heretique; what Prince is worthie to be excommunicated; who to be depriued; who is incorrigible; who may be expected in hope of amendment; who not: in what season and sort, to the lest disturbance and most benefite & safetie of the kingdome or place annoyed by such vnworthie Princes, the thing must be executed.

The Church is not partial in thes thinges, as we that be subiects may be; it is not decent that inferiours should determine at their pleasures of ther superiors. What way therefore can we take in Christian religion, more seemelie and sure in conscience for thes affaires then to harken to the highe priest of Gods Church; by whos directiō our consciences, in this case, cannot lightlie erre; or surelie not so perniciouslie, when we folowe them to whom Christ hath giuen the charge of our soules; and must render accompt therof to him, as to the supreme Bishop of al, by whom and for whom onelie al kinges doe raigne. Catholiques therefore (as you see) agree with th'other in the point of deposing and resisting kinges for Religion; but yet doe differ in the maner, as far as reason and conscience differ from furie and phrensie.

About which matter I wil now set doune some Catholique writers, albeit but few for breuitie sake; yet of such excellent credit, as shalbe able to instruct and satisfie anie reasonable consciēce in this case; as also to be our brethrens defence against al thos, that charge them so deadlie with thes treasonable propositions.

Thomas Aquin; that glorious Saint and clarke, whos onelie sentence weigheth more, then al the Protestants wits and wordes in the world, saith thus: *Postquam Princeps est denunciatus Apostata, omnes inferiores & subditi absoluuntur a præstite iuramento & obedientia illi*

The Catholique Church the best iudge of Heresie.

The opinions of Catholique writers about depositiō of Princes for Apostasy & Heresy.

S. Thomas.

„ *debita*; that is to say: After a Prince is one denounced
 „ to be an Apostata, al his inferiors and subiects, are
 „ assoyled of their othe made vnto him, & of their obe-
 „ dience due vnto him. This case therfore is plainlie re-

Toledos
 opinion, of a
 Prince ex-
 communicat.
 in 2.2.

solved vpo, by the greatest of al the schoole Doctors,
 and therfore can be no treasonable assertion or opi-
 nion. Vpon which wordes of S. Thomas, the famous
 professor of our time *Francis Toledo* writeth further
 thus: *Nota* (saith he) *quod eadem est ratio de Excommu-*
nicato; quia cum primum quis est denunciatus excommu-
natus, omnes subditi absoluuntur ab eius obedientia. Li-
cet enim sit notorium crimen Principis, non absoluuntur
vasalli a iuramento, ut bene dicit Caietanus, ante denun-
tiationem ab Ecclesia; qua facta, non solum sunt absoluti
ab obedientia, sed tenentur non obedire; nisi forte propter
periculum vite, vel damnum bonorum temporalium. Et
sic de Henrico octavo in Anglia factum est: cui etsi subditi
postquam denunciatus esset excommunicatus, tenebantur
non obedire; tamen quia is crudelis erat, & illos vel vita
vel bonis priuasset, excusati fuerunt subditi, illi adhuc obe-
diendo. Which is in English. Note (saith he) that albeit

„ S. Thomas named onelie an Apostata, yet the reason
 „ is al one in the Princes case that is excommunicated.
 „ For as soone as one is denounced or declared an excō-
 „ municate, al his subiects be discharged of their obe-
 „ diēce. For though the crime of a Prince be notorious,
 „ yet before declaratiō therof be made by the Church,
 „ the vassals are not assoyled frō obedience, as *Caietanus*
 „ wel holdeth: which declaration being made by the
 „ Church, they are not onelie discharged of their loy-
 „ altie, but are bound not to obey him anie more; except
 „ it be for feare of their liues, or losse of their temporal
 „ goods. As it was in England in the time of Henrie
 „ th'eight: whom though the subiects were bound not
 „ to obey, after he was denounced excōmunicate; yet
 „ for that he was a cruel man, and would ether haue kil-
 led

The case of
 K. Henrie
 the eight.

led or spoiled the; they were excused in obeying him. Thus doth this notable schoolman write; nether doe we knowe anie Catholique diuine of anie age to say the contrarie.

We wil not alleadge the Canon lawes; which for that they be the decrees specialle of Popes, whom our aduersaries accompt partial, shal weigh litle with them; though they be authentical in al the laful tribunals of the Christiā world: and make al Heretiques (not onelie after they be namelie & particularlie denoūced, but by the law it self, *ipso facto*, as soone as they be Heretikes or de iure excōmunicated for the same) to be depriued of their dominiōs, though the subiects vntil denuntiation, need not take knowledge therof.

Onelie it is not good to omit the definition and wordes of the famous general Counsel of Laterane, celebrated aboue 300. years since; wherein ther were Patriarches and Archbishops 70. Bishops 412. and other Prelats 800. In al, of the most chosen learned men of al nations, 1282; with th' Ambassadors of the Romane Emperour, of the king of Hierusalem, of England, of Fraunce, of Spaine, and of Cipres, as also of other Christian states; then which, ther can be no surer iudgement vpon earth: which assemblie representing the whole Christian world, would neuer agree vpon anie assertion traiterous. Thes the are the words of their most renowned decree, put onely in English for breuities sake.

Yf anie Lord temporal, required & admonished by the Church, neglect to purge his state from Heretical filth; let him be excommunicated by the Metropolitane and conprouincial Bishops: but yf he contemne to come to order within one years space, let relation be made to the supreme Bishop: that from thenceforth he may declare al his subiectes to be discharged of their fealtie towards him, and giue vp his

Cap. Alio
en sequen.

xv. q. 5.

Cap. fin. de
Haret.

The sentence
and defini-
tion of the
great lear-
ned ad ge-
neral Coun-
cel of Late-
rane.

Cap. 3. de
Haret.

The decree of
that Counsell
in what
case a
Soveraigne
Lords Sub-
be discharged
of the duty
The Land
to be possess-
ed by Catholiks

„ land to be possessed by Catholiques; which Catho-
„ liques without al contradiction (when they haue dri-
„ uen out the Heretiques) shal haue and hould the same,
„ and so preferue it in puritie of faith: (the interest and
„ right of the cheef Lord, euer remaining safe & whole,
„ so that him self giue no impediment to th' execution
„ of this decree). And the same law to take place in such
„ also as be soueraigne Lords and haue no superiors.

Thus both Schooles and Lawes speake and resolute
for the matter in hand: both Catholiques and Prote-
stants agreing, that Princes may for some causes,
and especiallie for their defection in Faith and Reli-
gion, be resisted and forsaken: though in the maner of
executing the sentence and other needful circumstan-
ces, Protestants folowe faction and populer mutinie;
we reduce al, to lawe, order, and iudgement.

But for the further clearing of this cause, we meane
now in the next chapter (by the helpe of God) to de-
clare and plainlie deduce al that hitherto hath bene
said in the premisses, from holie Scriptures and war-
rant of Antiquitie; that al indifferent men may see,
how far we be from treason, or vndutifulnes to
our Princeesse in thes our opinions, especially
when by a certaine violence we be coa-
cted to vtter the same.

OF EXCOMMUNICATION AND
DEPRIVATION OF PRINCES FOR HE-
*resie and falling from the Faith: speciallie, of vvarres for
Religion; and of the office and Zeale of Priests of th'old
and new lawv in such cases.*

C A P. V.

Princes being not subiect to superiours
temporal, nor patient of correction or
controlment by their inferiours, may
easelie fall to greuous disorders, which
must tend to the danger and ruine of
whole countries.

*The dāge-
rous state
of a tēporal
Prince if he
be not sub-
iect to spiri-
tual cōsel.*

In respect wherof; great spirite, power, courage,
& freedome of speech haue bene from the beginning
graunted by God, as wel ordinarie to Priestes, as ex-
traordinarie to some Prophets and religious persons,
in al ages and times, both of the new & old testamēt.

So by Gods great prouidence (who by his Prophet *psal. 2.*
warned kinges to take discipline, and to serue him in
feare, lest in his ire he should suffer them fall to iniqui-
tie) the first kinges of his peculiar people, had lightly
some Prophets or Priestes in maner as ouerseers, that
might from time to time charge them boldlie, and as
it were by office, with their enormities; and namelie
with their fall from Faith & the God of their Fathers:
to denounce his threatnings, yea and execute the same
vpon them, at sometimes if need so required; which
ministers of their Lord God, al godlie Princes did
heare, honor, & obey: as contrariwise the kinges that
were wicked and disloyal to God, haue euer sought
cruellie their death and destruction, that so their wic-
kednes might passe without controlment.

Saul the first temporal king that euer the Iewes *1. Reg. 10.*
(being then Gods peculiar) had; though chosen and *15. 16.*

*saul deposed for
usurping
spiritual
function.*

1. Reg. 22

inspired by God, was for al that led and directed by *Samuel* so long as he was in order. But afterward for aspiring to spiritual function, and other disobedience; was by Gods appointmēt and sentence (pronounced by the said *Samuel*) deposed of his kingdome, and another named *David* annointed by him. Which *Saul* now after his depriuation, or after, as it were, his excommunication by *Samuel*; was inuaded by an euil spirit, that prouoked him to kil not onelie *Dauid*, that was now made the rightful owner of his crowne; but also to seeke for *Samuels* death: yea and to cōmaund al the holie Priests of Nobe (foure score and fyue in number, as holy Scripture recompteth) to be slaine & murdered in most pitiful wise, as traitors to him, and fouorers of *Dauid* the competitor of his kingdome. And so it was done at last; though at the beginning his gard refused to execute so vile & horrible an act; & in this sort he remained enemy many years, against God and *Samuel*, and kept the kingdome by tirannical force notwithstanding his deposition.

*August.
cōtra Ada-
mantium.*

David neuertheles, in whom was the right of the croune, was lafullie vp in Armes, with one of the principal Priests whose name was *Abiathar*, that escaped the foresaid murther; not of such power as the pretended king was: til at length the vsurper (whom as *S. Augustine* deduceeth, he might lafullie haue killed but would not) being slaine in batail, *David* obtained his right; first, of a part of the kingdome; and afterward, of al the rest; which *Isbosetb* did for two years by the pretended right of *Saul* his father vsurpe.

*Priests most
subiect to
danger in
time of
usurpation.*

By which it is plaine, that the Priests and Prophets of God, being the executors of his sentences, and rule of the people in such doubtful and partial times of varietie for claime and competencie; are most subiect to the hatred of vsurpers, as also to death and danger for the same.

You

You see in what sort also *Hieroboam* king of Israel, had a special Prophet sent to him to denounce the intended iudgements of God against him and his posteritie, for his schisme and separation of his people, from the old anciēt true worship of God in *Hierusalem*; and for erecting of a new Altar in *Bethel* (in which al schisme and diuision from the Apostolike See is properlie prefigured) and for creating of a wicked cleargie out of *Aarons* order: I meane; new, hungrie, base, and inordered Priestes (the paterne of heretical ministers) thrust vp, out of the aray and orderlie succession and creation of Apostolike Priesthood: a crime so highlie afterward both in him and his stocke (according to Gods former denunciation) reuenged, that none of his house was left to pisse against a wal. Yet he fondlie sought to apprehend the man of God, and to kill him, for bringing this newes, which he accompted high treason, against his regalitie. *Ozias* also, or *Ufia* king of Iuda puffed vp with intollerable pride (as the Scripture sayeth) and not contended with his kinglie soueraigntie, but presuming to execute spiritual and Priestlie function; was valiantlie by *Azarias* and fourscore Priestes with him, assailed, and thrust out of the Temple by force. At what time for that he threatned the Priestes of God and resisted them with violence; he was strooken with a filthie leprosie: & so not onelie thrust out of the Temple, but by their authoritie, seuered also from al company of men (a special figure of the Priestes power to excommunicate for Heresie, as wel Princes as others, in the new law): and finally the regiment of his kingdome was committed to his sonne. A cleare example that Priestes may vse armes, & repress impietie by forceable wayes, wher it may serue to the preservation of Religion and the honor of God.

But the office and zeale of good Priestes is notablie

3.Reg.13
14.
The exāple
of Ieroboā
a wicked
schisma-
tick, denou-
ced by a
Priest.

The exāple
of proude
Ozias that
would
take vnto
him the au-
thoritie of
Priest.

4.Reg.11

The example
of depositions
and death
of Queene
Athalia by
Ioida the
high Priest

recommended vnto vs, in the deposition of the wicked *Q. Athalia*. She, to obtaine the crowne after *Ochazias*, killed al his children: onelie one, which by a certaine good womans pietie was secretlie withdrawen from the massacre, saued and brought vp within the Temple for seuen years space; al which time the said *Q.* vsurped the kingdome: til at length *Ioida* the high Priest, by opportunitie called to him forces both of the Priestes and people; proclaimed the right heire that was in his custodie; annointed and crowned him king; & caused immediatlie the pretensed *Q.* (notwithstanding she cried Treason, Treason, as not onelie iust possessors but wicked vsurpers vse to doe) to be slaine with her fautors at her owne court gate. Thus doe Priests deale and iudge for the innocent and laful Princes (when time requireth) much to their honor, and agreeable to their holie calling.

3. Reg. 18
19.
The execution
done by
Elias the
Prophet
vpon many
with de-
position of
Princes.

No man can be ignorant how stoutlie *Elias* (being sought to death by *Achab* and his *Q. Iesabel* that ouerthrew holie Altars, and murthered al the true religious that could be found in their land) tould them to their face; that not he or other men of God whom they persecuted, but they and their house were the disturbers of Israel: And slew in his zeale al the said *Iesabels* false Prophets, fostered at her table, euen foure hundreth at one time; and so set vp holie Altars againe: How he handled the Idololatrious king *Ochozias* his Captaines and messingers, waisting them and an hundreth of their traine, by fire from heauen; til the third Captaine was forced, to humble him self vpon his knees vnto him.

4. Reg. 1

3. Reg. 19.

4. Reg. 9

How he had commission to annoint *Hazael*, king of *Siria*; *Eliscus*, a Prophet for him self; and *Iehu*, king of *Israel*, & so to put doune the sonne and whole house of *Achab*; which therbie lost al the title and right to the kingdome for euer.

This

This Prophet and his successor *Eliseus*, were so famous in this seruice of God, for the chastisement of irreligious P^rinces; that in holie writ it is thus said of the former: *He cast downe kinges, destroyed them, and plucked the honorable from their seates.* And of the second in the same place: *that he neuer feared Prince, nor could be overcome by anie.* And in an other place; *Who soeuer escapeth the sword of Iehu, the sword of Eliseus shal slea him.* Eccle. 48. 3. Reg. 19

By which examples of holie Scriptures, we see; first, that annointed and lafullie created kinges may be deposed: secondlie, for what causes they were depriued: thirdly, that as in the creation and consecration of kinges, so also in their depriuation, God vsed the ministerie of Priestes and Prophets, as ether ordinarie or extraordinarie Iudges or executors of his wil towards them.

For though nether thes Priests nor Prophets were superiours to their owne kinges or soueraignes in their temporal states and regiments; nor Lordes or maisters of their crounes and kingdomes: yet for that they held their dignities and soueraigne authorities of God, and were bound to occupie and vse the same, with what forces so euer they had, to th'aduancement of his Religion, and to the true worship and honor of their supreme Lord and Maister; as also to the benefit & preservation of his people in faith and feare of him: the Priests and Prophets (that then had the principal and direct charge of mens soules and religion; and were in spiritual matters superiors to their owne Princes) rightlie opposed them selues in al such actions as tended to the dishonor of God, destruction of religion, and to the notorious damage of the soules of them ouer whom they did reigne: and in the behalf of God, executed iustice vpon such, as contrarie to their obligation and first institution,

Illations &
consequents
vpo the former exam-
ples.

That k^{ings} may bee deposed by priests & profite as Iudges:

abused their soueraigne power, to the destruction of true religion and aduancemet of Idolatrie, Heresie, or such like abomination. In which cases, and al other doubtles and differences betwixt one man and another, or betwixt Prince and people; that Priestes and namely the highe Priest should be the Arbitrer, and Iudge, and the interpreter of Gods wil towards his people; is most consonant both to nature, reason, the vse of al nations, and to the expresse Scriptures.

Deut. 17.

The subiection of al men to the iudgement of Priestes.

For in Gods sacred law thus we read: *Si difficile & ambiguum apud te iudicium esse prospexeris inter sanguinem & sanguinem, causam & causam, lepram & non lepram* &c. If thou forsee the iudgement to be hard and ambiguous, betwixt blood and blood, cause and cause, leprosie or no leprosie; and finde varietie of sentences among the iudges at home: rise and goe vp to the place, which the Lord thy God shal chuse, and thou shalt come to the Priestes of Leuies stocke, and to the iudge that shalbe for the time; thou shalt aske of them, and they wil iudge according to the truth of iudgement: and thou shalt doe what so euer they say that haue the rule of the place which God shal chuse, & shal teach the accordig to his lawe: thou shalt not decline neither to the right hand nor left. And if anie shalbe so proude as not to obey the commaundement of the Priest that shal for that time minister vnto the Lord thy God, by the sentence of the iudge let that man die; and so thou shal remoue euil from Israel: and al the people hearing shal feare and take heed, that hereafter they waxe not proude.

Thus far in the holie text, generallie without al exception: subiecting in cases of such doubtles as are recited, al degrees of faithful men, no lesse kings then others, to the Priestes resolution. Yea immediatelie order is giuen how their kinges, (which yet were not when that was writtē, but afterward by their motion to be

to be created) should be elected: that none could be chosen to rule ouer them being the people of God, that were not true beleeuers and worshippers of him, according to the ceremonies of their lawe and religion: which lawes they might not take, make, or moderate them selues, but receiue of the Priestes of the Leuitical tribe; and therbie learne to feare God, and keepe his wordes and ceremonies: expressely also appointing and warning them, or as it were couenancing with them and him whom they should create or haue for their king; that he should not against Gods expresse commaundement, bring backe at anie time his people into Egypt: that is to say; from the libertie of his faith and true seruice, to the bondage of Idolatrie and false Religion.

Which condition was afterward to be implied in the receuing of anie king ouer the people of God and true beleeuers for euer: *Videlicet*; that they should not reduce their people by force or otherwise from the Faith of their forefathers, and the religion and holie ceremonies therof, receiued at the handes of Gods Priestes and none other; Insinuating, that obseruing thes precepts and conditions, he and his sonne after him might long reigne: otherwise, as by the practice of their deposition in the bookes and time of the kinges it afterward appeareth (wherof we haue set doune some examples before) the Prophets and Priestes that annointed them, of no other condition but to keepe and mainteine the honor of God and his true worship; depriued them againe, when they brake with their Lord, and fel to strange Gods, and forced their people to doe the like.

And this it was in the old law. But now in the new testament & in the time of Christs spiritual kingdome in the Church, Priestes haue much more soueraigne authoritie, & Princes far more strict charge to obey,

*A conditio
implied in
the creatio
of al Prin-
ces.*

*The author-
itie of
Priesthood
in the new
testament.*

- Esa. 49.
52.
Esa. 60. loue, and cherish the Church: of which Church it was
said by prophecie; *Kinges shalbe thy Fosterfathers, and
Queenes thy Nurces*: And againe; *Kinges brestes shal nourish
the; & euerie kingdome that serueth not the shal perish.*
- Psal. 2. In which Church without faile is the supereminent
power of Christs Priesthood; who with his yro rodde
bruseth the pride of Princes, that rebel against
his Spouse and kingdome in earth, like a potters pot-
sharde: and hath right in his Church ouer al king-
domes, to plant and plucke vp, to builde and destroy;
afore whom al kinges shal fal doune, and al nations
doe him seruice.
- Math. 16.

Now Christs Priestlie prerogatiue, passing his
owne regal dignitie (much more excelling al other
humane power of the world) in most ample & exact
termes is communicated to the cheefe Priest and pa-
stor of our foules, and secundarilie to the rest of the
gouernours of the Church; in other maner of clauses
the anie earthlie Princes can shew for their pretenced
spiritual regiment. Fie on that secular pride and wil-
ful blind heresie, so repugning against Gods expresse
ordinance; and yet is of wicked Sectmaisters and
flatterers vpholden to the eternal calamity of them
selues, and of millions of others.

- Ioan. 21. Now al Christs sheepe, wthout exception, be they
Princes, be they poore (if they be Christian men)
are put to Peters feeding and gouernment. Now the
Mat. 16. keyes of heauē be deliuered to Christs Vicar in earth;
to let in, to locke out; to binde, to loose; to punish,
Heb. 13. to pardon. Now we be commanded euerie one, (be
we kinges, be we Cæsars) to obey our Prelates and
Pastors, and to be subiect to them, as to thos that
1. Cor. 5.
2. Ioan. must make accompt to God for our foules; wherein
what Christian Prince may except him self?

Now they haue ful authoritie to forbid vs the com-
Ad Tir. 3. panie of Heretiques, Blasphemers, Idolaters, and
such

such like; and not so much as to salute them, much more not to obey them. And lest anie man should thinke this power to be so merelie spiritual, that it might not in anie wise be extended to temporal or corporal damage or chastisement of the faithful in their goods, liues, possessions, or bodies, being mere secular thinges, & therefore not subiect to their Pastors spiritual or Priestlie function: it is to be marked in the holie Apostles first execution of their commissions & authoritie, that though their spiritual power immediate and directlie concerneth not our temporal affaires; yet indirectlie (and as by accident) it doth not onelie concerne our soules but our bodies and goods, so far as is requisite to our soules health, & expedient for the good regiment therof, and the Churches utilitie, being subiect to their spiritual gouernours.

Spiritual
Pastors
haue
power to
punish cor-
porally.

Therefore S. Peter, being but a mere spiritual officer and Pastor of mens soules; yet for sacriledge and simulation, stroke dead both man and wife. S. Paul stroke blind, Elymas the Magician. So did he threaten to come to his contemners, in rodde of discipline. So did he excommunicate a principal person in Corinth, for incest: not onely by spiritual punishment, but also by bodilie vexation, giuing him vp to Sathans chastisement. As he corporally also corrected and molested with an euil spirit Himineus and Alexander for blasphemie & heresie. Finallie he boldlie auoucheth, that his power in God is to reuenge al disobedience, and to bring vnder al loftie hartes to the loialtie of Christ; and of the Apostles and Saints in this life. *Nescitis* (quoth he) *quoniam Angelos iudicabimus, quanto magis secularia?* Knowe you not that we shal iudge Angels, how much more secular matters?

Act. 1.

Act. 13.

1. Cor. 4

1. Cor. 5

1. Timo. 1

2. Cor. 10

1. Cor. 6.

In al which ther is no difference betwixt Kinges that be faithful, and other Christian men: who al in that they haue submitted themselues and their scep-

ters to the sweet yoke of Christ, are subiect to discipline and to their Pastors authoritie no lesse thē other sheepe of his fould.

The Ciuil And although the state, regiment, policy & power
gouvernour temporal, be in it self alwayes of distinct nature, qua-
subiect to litie, and condition from the gouvernement Ecclesiasti-
the spiritual cal, and spiritual common weath called the Church or
amongst bodie mystical of Christ; and the Magistrat spiritual
Christians. and ciuil diuers and distinct; and sometime so far that
th'one hath no dependance of th'other, nor subalter-
nation to th'other in respect of them selues; (as it is in
the Churches of God residing in heathē kingdomes,
and was in th'Apostles times vnder the Pagane Em-
perours); yet now where the lawes of Christ are re-
ceiued, and the bodies politique and mistical, the
Church and Ciuil state, the Magistrate Ecclesiastical
and tēporal, cōcurre in their kindes together; (though
euer of distinct regiments, natures, and endes) ther is
such a concurrence and subalternation betwixt both,
that th'inferior of the two (which is the Ciuil state)
must needes (in matters pertainēg anie way ether
directlie or indirectlie to the honor of God and be-
nefit of the soule) be subiect to the spiritual, and take
direction from the same.

In Orati.ad The condition of thes two powers (as S. Gregorie
popul. trepi- Nazianzen most excellentlie resembleth it) is like
datem. & vnto the distinct state of the same spirit and bodie, or
Impera. flesh in a man: wher ether of them hauing their proper
commotum. and peculiar operations, endes, and obiects, which in
other natures may be seuered: (as in Brutes, wher flesh
is & not spirit: in Angels, wher spirit is but not flesh):
Nazians are yet in man conioined in person; and neuerthelesse
similitude so distinct in faculties and operations; that the flesh
to expresse hath her actions peculiar, and the soule hers; but not
the subordi- without al subalternation or dependance. Where we
natio of Ci- see euidentlie, that in case the operations of the bodie
uil and of
Spiritual
gouvernmēt. be

be contrarie to th'end, weale, and iust desires of the soule; the spirite may and must commaund, ouerrule, and chastise the bodie: and as superior appointeth fasting and other afflictions, though with some detriment to the flesh: commanding the eyes not to see; the tonge not to speake; and so forth. So likewise; the power Political, hath her Princes, Lawes, Tribunals; and the Spiritual her Prelates, Canons, Counsels, Iudgements, (and thes, when the Princes are Pagans) wholly separate: but in Christian Common-wealths ioined, though not confounded; nor yet the Spiritual turned into the Temporal, or subiect by peruerse order (as it is now in England) to the same; but the Ciuil (which in deed is the inferior) subordinate, and in some cases subiect to the Ecclesiastical: though so long as the temporal State is no hinderance to eternal felicitie, & the glory of Christs kingdome, th'other intermedleth not with her actions; but alloweth, defendeth, honoreth, and in particular Common-wealthes obeyeth the same.

Yet wher it is otherwise, and the temporal power resisteth God, or hindreth the proceeding of the people to saluation; ther the Spiritual hath right to correct the Temporal, and to procure by al meanes possible, that the terrene kingdome, giue no annoyance to the State of the Church: which now adorned in the new Testamēt, with the power of Christs Priesthood, and with seuerall and distinct officers, appointed by the Holie-ghost; must needes so far excel the terrene state and dominatiō, as the Sonne passeth the Moone, the soule the bodie, and heauen the earth. By reason of which excellencie and preeminence aboue al states and men, without exception of Prince or other, our Lord proclameth in his Gospel; that who soeuer obeyeth not or heareth not the Church, must be taken and vsed no otherwise, then as a Heathen.

*When the
Spiritual
gouernment
is to correct
the Temporal.*

Math. 18

*Deceatful
persuasions
of Politikes
vnto Prin-
ces for their
ruine.*

This being so plaine, and in truth so beneficial to the verie Kinges and Commō-welthes them selues, that the preseruatiō of both, specially standeth vpon this concurrence with the Church and Priesthood, and with the due subalternation of the temporal to the spiritual regiment: and which al Kinges (that be not for punishment of their owne and their peoples sinnes obdurate, and prepared by Gods iudgment to be an example of his power and iustice) most gladlie acknowledge: yet their be so manie either flatterers of Princes that so say; or Heretiques that so thinke; that the Ministers of Christs most deare Spouse, of his verie bodie mystical, his kingdome and house in earth (whom at his departure hence, he did endowe with most ample Commission, and sent forth with that authoritie, that his Father before gaue vnto him) haue no power ouer Princes, to denounce or declare them to be violators of Gods and the Churches lawes; nor to punish them either spirituallie or temporallie; nor to excommunicate them; nor to discharge the people of their othe and obedience towards such, as neither by Gods law nor mans, a true Christian may obey.

*The exam-
ples of diso-
bedient
Princes to
the Church
and of their
punishment
or confusio.*

Wherin it may please the gētle readers to enforme their consciēces partlie by that is said before, and speciallie by that which foloweth. Wher they shal finde that streight vpon the first conuersion of Kinges to the faith, as the good and godlie haue euer obeyed the Church, and submitted them selues to Ecclesiastical censures and discipline: so the euil & obstinate could neuer orderlie discharge them selues from the same, without euident note of iniustice, tirannie, and irreligiositie; and were either in fin brought to order and penance, or els to confusion both temporal & eternal.

*Chrisost.in
vita Baby.*

About xiiij. hundreth years agoe *Babylas* Bishop of Antioche excommunicated the onely Christian king or Em-

or Emperour that then was (as some count *Numerius*, *The exāple*
 as others, *Philip*) for executing a Prince, that was put *of Bishop*
 to him, for an hostage. Whereupon, as euil kinges so- *Babylas*,
 metimes doe, he martired his Bishop; whom *S. Chri-
 stome* and others reckon for the most famous Martyr
 of that time: because he gaue both by his constancie
 and courage in God, a notable example to al Bishops
 of their behauour towards their Princes; and how
 they ought to vse th'Ecclesiastical rodde of correctiō
 towards them, what soeuer betal to their persons for
 the same.

After the said Prince had murthered his owne Pa- *Nicep. li.*
 stor; then holie Pope *Fabian* for that he was the gene- *s. cap. 28.*
 ral shepard of Christendome (or as some thinke *Fa-
 binus* the successor of *Babylas*) pursued the said Empe-
 rour by like excommunication, and other meanes, til
 at length he brought him to order and repentance.

Afterward *S. Ambros* Bishop of Millan excommu- *Soz. lib. 7.*
 nicated th'elder *Theodosius* th'Emperour; put him to *Cap. 24.*
 publique penance among the rest of the people; cō- *Theo. lib.*
 maunded him to put of his kinglie robes; to leaue his *s. Cap. 17*
 Emperial throne in the Chauncel, and to keepe his *Amb. li. 5*
 place amōg the laytie: and prescribed him after eight *Epist. 28*
 monethes penance, to make a temporal law for pro- *Au. de ci-
 uuit. Dei. li.*
 uiso, against the occasions of such crimes as the said *s. Cap. 26*
 Emperour had committed, and for which he was ex-
 communicated.

This was an other world then we now are in; mar- *Our shā-
 meles age.*
 uelous courage and zeale in Bishops for Gods cause;
 much humilitie and obedience in Princes. Then was
 ther no flatterer so shameful, nor heretique on earth so
 impudent, as to make the temporal kinges aboue al
 correction of Gods Church and their owne Pastors;
 nothing being more common in the histories of al
 ages then that Princes haue receiued discipline.

As when *Anastasius* th'Emperour was excommu-

Diuers
Princes ex-
communicated
by their
Pastours.

icated by *Symmachus*; *Lotharius* and *Michael* Empe-
rours, by *Nicholas* the first; and particular Princes, by
ther prouincial Bishops: as we see in the recordes of
al nations. Therefore we wil stand onely vpon more
famous and ancient examples.

Nicepho. li.
13. Cap. 34
Georg. Pa-
triarcha. in
vita Chris.

The sentence
of excommu-
nication ge-
uen by In-
nocentius
Bishop of
Rome a-
gainst the
Emperour.

Innocentius the first, excommunicated *Archadius*
th' Emperour and his wife Queene Eudoxia, for that
they disobeyed and persecuted their Bishop S. Chri-
sofome. We wil reporte the iudicial sentēce breeflie,
because it is much to the purpose and ful of Maiestie.

O Emperour (said Pope Innocētius wel nere 1200.
yeares agoe) the blood of my brother Iohn Chrysostome cri-
eth to God against thee: thou hast cast out of his chaire the
great Doctor of the vworld; and in him, by thy vviues (that
delicate Dalila) her perswasion hast persecuted Christ. Therefore
I (though a poore sinful soule) to vvhō the throne of the great
Apostle S. Peter is committed, doe excommunicate the & her,
and doe seperate you both from the holie Sacramēts: comman-
ding, that no Priest nor Bishop, under paine of deprivation,
after this my sentence come to their knowledg, giue or mini-
ster the said Sacraments vnto you.

When &
yppō what
occasio spi-
ritual Pa-
stours began
to vse the
temporal
sword.

Thus did this blessed Father (whom S. *Augustine* ex-
ceedinglie commended in his time) deale with this
Emperour and wicked Queene, the cause of her hus-
bandes fal and offences, and at length brought them
to penance. But when in processe of time some Prin-
ces, through Gods iust iudgement and the peoples
sinne, were fallen to such contempt of religion (as it
lightlie happeneth by Heresie and Apostacie) that
excommunication, being onely but a spiritual penal-
tie, or other ordinarie Ecclesiastical discipline would
not serue: then as wel Bishops as other godly persons,
their owne subiects, did craue aide and armes of other
Princes, for their chastisement: as most holie and an-
cient Popes (euen in the old dayes when the Prote-
stants confesse them to haue bene godlie Bishops)
did

did incite Catholique kinges to the same: that thos whom the spiritual rodde could not fruitfullie chastise; they might by externe or temporal force, bring them to order and repentance; or at lest defend their innocent Catholique subiects from vniust vexation.

Ther is no warre in the world so iust or honorable be it ciuil or forraine, as that which is waged for Religion; we say for the true, ancient, Catholique, Roman religion; which by the lawes of holie Church and al Christian nations, is adiudged to be th'onelie true worship of God; and vnto the obediēce of which al Princes and people haue yeelded them selues, either by othe, vowe, or Sacramēts, or euerie of thes wayes. For this, it is godlie and honorable to fight in such order and time, as we be warranted in conscience and lawe, by our supreme Pastors and Priests; and not for wilde condemned heresies, against most lauful Christian Catholiques, Kinges & Priests; as the rebellious Protestants and Caluinistes of this time doe, without al order, lawe, or warrant of God or man. As the armes taken for defence of Godlie honor and inheritance in such sort and difference from Heretical tumultes as is said, are so much more commendable and glorious; for that no crime in the world deserueth more sharpe and zealous pursuite of extreme reuēge, (whether it be in superiours or subiects) then reuolting from the Faith to strange religions.

Who-soeuer seeketh not after the Lord God of Israel, let him be slaine (said king *Asa* admonished by *Azaria* the Prophet) from the highest to the lowest without exception. And al the people and manie that folowed him and fled to him out of *Israel* from the schisme ther, did sweare and vowe them selues in the quarel of the God of their forefathers. And they prospered and deposed *Q. Maácha* mother to *Asa* for Apostacie, and for worshiping the venereous God

Warre for Religion
for the Catholique religion both lauful & honorable.

Warranted by
Supreme
priests

for Rebolt

zealous & sharp punishment
met & extreme reuēge

2. Paral.
Cap. 15.

104 AN ANSWERE TO THE LIBEL
called *Briaps*.

Cap. 13

For that case also in *Deutonomie* expresse charge was
giuen to slea al false Prophets, and who so euer should
auert the people from the true worship of God, and
induce them to receiue strange Gods, and new reli-
gions; and to destroy al their folowers, were they
neuer so near vs by nature. And in the same place;
that if anie citie should reuolt from the receiued and
prescribed worship of God, and beginne to admit
new religions; it should be vtterlie wasted by fire and
sword. Nether pertaineth this to poore men onelie,
but to the gouernours and leaders of the people most
of al; As we see in the booke of *Numbers*, wher *Moyse*
by the commaundemēt of God caused al the Princes
of the people to be hanged vpon gibets against the
sonne, for cōmunication in sacrifice with the *Moabites*,
and the rest of the people euerie one by the hand of
his neighbour to be put to the sword for the same
fault; wherin *Phinees* the Priest of God by sleaing a
cheefe captaine with his owne handes deserued eter-
nal praise, and the perpetuitie of his Priesthood. By
Moyse also his appointment, the faithful Leuite
flew 33000. of ther neighbours, brethren & friends
for committing Idolatrie & forsaking the true God.
Marry in al this (as yow see by th'exāples alleadged
the Prophet and Priests must direct them for the cause
and action, that they erre not of phantasie, partiali-
tie, pride, and pretence of religion, as Heretiques &
Rebels doe: but the quarel must be for the old faith
seruice and Priesthood, against innouation; and di-
rected and allowed by thos which by order and fun-
ction haue charge of our soules.

Cap. 25.

Execution
done vppon
Princes.

Phynees &
preest:

Marry the
preest must
direct the
murderers
for y^e Cause
& Action

Cap. 27

The pu-
nishment of
Princes for
schisme and
reuel.

As we read also in the booke of *Numbers* that the
Captaine and al the people, were commaunded to
goe in and out: that is; to proceed in warres accor-
ding to the order of *Eleazarus* the Priest. Such we

the warres of Abia and other kinges of Iuda, that fought most iustlie & prosperouſlie against the schismatical Israelites, & iustlie possessed the cities which they cōquered in thos warres. As also Edom & Lobua reuolted from king Ioram for religion; euen because he forsoke the God of their forefathers, and could neuer be recouered to the same againe. Wherin also th'exemple and zeale of the children of Israel was verie notable; that they would haue denounced warre against the tribe of Ruben and Gad, onelie for erecting (as they tooke it) a schismatical Altar, out of the onelie place where our Lord appointed that sacrifice should be done vnto his honor.

2. Paral.
Cap. 13.

1. Paral.
Cap. 21.
4. Reg.
Cap. 8.

So; much more since Christs lawe and religion was established, diuers great and honorable fightes haue bene made for the Faith, against Princes and prouinces that vniustlie withstood and annoyed the same.

So in old times of the Primatiue Church the Christian Armenians lauffullie defended them selues by armes against their Emperour Maximinus. And the Catholique people of diuers prouinces haue often by force defended and kept their Bishops in their seates against the Infidels; but speciallie against the commandement of heretical Emperours: yea and resisted them in defence of their Churches, and the sacred goods of the same. As the citizens of Antioche defended their Church, against the Emperour Galerius his officers. S. Basile and S. Ambrose people, defended them against the inuasions of Heretiques. And not the people onelie which may doe thinges of headiness, without counsel or consultation; (of whom S. Ambros sayth, being willed to assuage their furie; that it lay in him not to incite them him self, but had no meanes often times to repressse them): but the Bishops of countries so persecuted by heretical Princes, haue iustlie required helpe of other Christian

Euseb. li. 9
Cap. 6.

Warres
made for
Religion.

Naziā. de
laud. Basi.
Amb. li. 5.
Epist.

kinges and nations.

Theo.li.2 For so holie Athanasius (who knew his dutie to his
 Cap.5. 13 soueraigne wel inough & in what case he might resist
The exāple him) asked aide against Constantius the Arrian and
of Atha- first heretical Emperour (whom Pope Felix declared
nasius. to be an Heretique) of his owne brother Constance
 Socra.li.1 Catholique Emperour of the west. For feare of whos
 Cap.13. armes the said Arrian restored Athanasius and other
 Soz.lib.4 Catholique Bishops to their churches and honors
 Cap.7. againe : though after this Catholique Emperours
 Damas in death, the other more furiously persecuted Athana-
 Pontif. sius then before.

Likewise against Valens the Arrian Emperour; Pe-
 Socr.lib.4 trus, successor to Athanasius and brother to S. Basil,
 Cap.17. did seeke to the Pope of Rome for succour, as al other
 30. afflicted Bishops and catholiques euer did. So did
 Sozo. li.6 Atticus Bishop of Constantinople craue ayde of
 Cap.19. Theodosius the yonger against the King of the Per-
 Socr.lib.2 sians that persecuted his Catholique subiects, and was
 Cap.18 therbie forceblie depriued, and his innocent subiects
 Nicepho. lib.14. deliuered.
 Cap.21.

*The exāple
 of Pope Leo
 the first.*

So did holie Pope Leo the first, perswade the Em-
 perour, called Leo also to take armes against the Tirant
 of Alexandria for the deliuerie of the oppressed Ca-
 tholiques from him and the heretiques Eutichians;
 who then threw doune churches and monasteries and
 did other great sacrileges. Whose wordes for exam-
 ples sake I wil set doune. *O Emperour (saith S. Leo) if it
 be laudable for the to inuade the heathens, how much more
 glorious shal it be to deliuer the Church of Alexandria from
 the heauie yoke of outragious Heretiques; by the calamitie of
 vvhich Church al the Christians in the vvorld are iniuried.*

Lib.1.ep.
 71.

In breefe; so did S. Gregorie the great moue Gen-
 nadius the Exarch, to make warres speciallie against
 heretiques as a verie glorious thing. And so euer haue
 holie Bishops most intermedled, in cases of heresie
 and

and iniuries done vnto Gods Church (as a thing properlie subiect to their correction) by excommunication, or what other way so euer God hath giuen them commodity of; which al is to be vsed and executed according to the differences of times and persons.

The holie Bishops might most lafullie (and so sometimes they did) excommunicate the Arrian Emperours, and haue warrated their Catholique subiects to defend them selues by armes against them: but they alwayes did not so; because they had no meanes by reason of the greater forces of the persecutors. As ther is no question but the Emperours, Constantius, Valens, Iulian and others might haue bene by the Bishops excommunicated and deposed, and al their people released from their obedience; if the Church or Catholiques had had competent forces to haue resisted.

Yea the quarel of Religion and defence of innocencie is so iust, that heathen Princes, not at al subiect to the Churches lawes and discipline, may in that case by the Christians armes be resisted, and might lafullie haue bene repressed in times of the Pagans and first great persecutions, when they vexed and oppressed the faithful; but not otherwise (as most men thinke) if they would not annoy the Christians, nor violentlie hinder or seeke to extirpate the true faith and cours of the Gospel. Though S. Thomas seemeth also to say, that anie heathen king may be lafullie depriued of his superioritie ouer Christians.

How so euer that be; plaine it is that Kinges that haue professed the faith of Christ and the defence of his Church and Gospel, may be and haue bene iustlie both excommunicated & deposed, for iniuries done to Gods Church, and reuolt from the same; as sometimes also for other great crimes tending to the pernici-
 on of the whole people subiect vnto them.

What Princes may be excommunicated and when.

See S. Thomas. 2. 2. quest. 10. Art. 10.

KK's may bee, or haue bene deposed for crimes tending to y^e pernici- on of y^e people the subiect

As well as for Inuerys done to Gods Church.

Princes ex-communicated & deprived for defects in Religion.

An Antipape.

Heretical malice.

But to speake speciallie of matter of Religion, and the crimes thervnto belonging. Leo the third was excommunicated and deprived of al his temporalities, in Italie by Gregorie the second. For defect also in Religion and of the Churches defence, were the Greeke Emperours discharged, and the Empire translated to the Germans by Pope Leo the third. As afterward diuers German Emperours for notable injuries done to Gods Church, for sacrilege, & for heresie; by godlie discipline of the Church, and by the diligence of sondrie Popes, haue bene brought to order, or in fin deposed; or els wher they would not obey Christes Vicar, ether in them selues, or in their posteritie haue bene notoriousslie by God confounded. As Frederick the first, Frederick the second, Otho the fift, Lewes the third, Lewes the fourth, and whom we name last (because we must say some what more of him) Henrie the thirde (or as some call him) the fourth, by Gregorie the seuenth; which example the Libeller and other Heretiques most mention; for that the said Henrie so obstinatlie resisted (though otherwise by the inuincible courage & constancie of the Pope often brought to penance and extremitie) that in fin by armes he droue the said Pope out of his sea; and placed an *Antipape*; that is to say, one so opposite to Christs vicar, as Antichrist shalbe against Christ: which by armes and patronage of this wicked Emperour, vsurped and occupied the Apostolical throne against the true Pope Gregorie the seuenth, whom the Libeller (after the vulgar vaine of Rebellious Heretiques) voutsafeth not the name of Gregorie the seuenth, but calleth him commonlie Hildebrand: as the Heretiques when they were in armes in Germanie against their Emperour, would not name him Charles the fiste, nor Emperour, but Charles of Gaunt.

And

And now because this good and notable Pope, was not able in fin to resist th' emperours forces (the which Emperour, as al the histories of that time record was a most wicked, sacrilegious, simoniacal and heretical person) th' aduersaries of Gods Church doe triumphe (as the Libeller here doth) ouer the blessed man; as Herode might haue done ouer Iohn Baptist, whos admonition was taken in so euil gré, that it cost him his life: as also th' executing of the Churches sentence, which is Gods, hath done to manie a Prophet and Bishop in the world.

The cōtention berweene Pope Gregorie the seuenth and Henrie the third Emperour.

By which euent of thinges who so euer measureth the right of causes; wil make a good religion and a good defence of th' execution of iustice. For so most Tirants might be iustified for a time, against al the Saints of God. This Gregorie say they was in fin banished by the Emperour: and so was S. Chrysostom by Archadius and Eudoxia, and dyed in banishment; as Gregorie the seuenth did: yet they were but homelie Christians that would iustifie the Emperours and condemne S. Chrysostome.

And indeed this Pope, whom they speciallie hate because (as it may be thought) he was the first man that authenticallie condemned the *Berengarians* heresie, & in open disputation refuted it: though certaine of the said Emperours flatterers, & enemies of the sea Apostolique (as the fashion of our Heretiques is at this day) wrote slanderous Libels against him: yet was he a very notable good man and learned, and did suffer, what so euer he did suffer, for mere iustice; in that he did godlie, honorablie, and by the dutie of his Pastors ship, what so euer he did against the said Emperour: wherof we could alleadge al the best writers of those dayes, or near that time, but that we should be tedious. Of whom yet this one graue testimonie of *Baptista Fulgosius* a noble and learned man that was Duke

Pope Hildebrand a good man.

of Genua aboute an hundred years past, we shal not
let to set doune as we finde it in latine. *Constantissimus*

Lib. 3 Cap.
vlt. factorū
memorabi-
lium.

*habitus est Gregorius septimus Pontifex, qui quod Henricum
tertium Imperatorem propter aperta nimis Symonia crimina,
pro pastoralis officio reprehendebat, grauibz ab eo iniurijs af-
fectus est: itaque iniuriarum magnitudine compulsus, Hen-
ricum Gregorius vt hæreticum Imperij honore priuauit. Cum
autem Henricus solui ecclesiastica censura non emendatione vi-
ta, sed armis quæreret; alium creare Pontificem enixus, ca-
pta Vrbe obsidere Gregorium cœpit. Quæ mala cum Gregorius
pateretur, nunquam tamē a iusto proposito dimoueri potuit.*

„ That is; Gregorie the seuēth was notable for his con-

„ stancie; who for that according to his pastoral charge,

The testi-
monie of the
Duke of
Genua for
Pope Hil-
debrand.

he had admonished Henrie the third, Emperour, to
leaue his knowen impietie of Simonie: was by mani-
fold intollerable iniuries vexed by the said Emperour;
and by the greatnes of his wickednes, was compelled
to depriue him as an heretique, of his Imperial digni-

„ tie. But Henrie seeking not by amendment of his life,

„ but by armes to be absolved from the censure; he went

„ about to set vp a new Pope, and beseiged the citie of

„ Rome, and brought the Pope into great distres. In al

„ which miseries Gregorie could neuer be remoued

„ from his iust purpose. So he writeth of the parties

See Vſper-
gen. lib. 5.
Annal.

both. And of the horrible crimes for which the Em-
perour was most iustlie in the sight of al good mē depo-
sed. Thus *Trithemius* reporteth in breief of the wickednes

„ of this Emperour. *Episcopatus, ōstātiensem &c.* He sould

„ the Bishoprikes of Constance, Bamburgh, Mentz, &

„ diuers other for money: thos of Ausbourg, & Straif-

„ burgh for a sword: that of Munster for Sodomie: and

Trithem. in
Chron.

the abbacie of Fulde for aduoultrie: heauen and earth

witnesse and crie out of thes; and for the same abho-

„ minations he standeth excommunicated & depriued,

„ and therefore hath no power nor iust title to reigne o-

„ uer vs Catholiques,

But

But to goe forward; this same *Gregorie* the seventh did the like commendable iustice vpon the king of *Chrom.*
Pole *Bolislau*s the second; aswel excommunicating lib. hist.
 as depriuing him for murthering of his Bishop *S. Stanislay* at the verie Altar. Against which sentence *Polō. li. 4.*
 though he stoode by force and contempt for a time, *Kinges of*
 yet at length he was forsaken and resisted wholie by *later times*
 his subiects; fled, and in fin slew him self. *excommunicated.*

For Heresie also was *George K. of Boemland* excommunicated, and thervpon by the forces of the king of *Hungarie* at length actuallie depriued: As also *Iohn Albert* had half his kingdome of *Nauarre* taken from him by *Ferdinandus* surnamed *Catholicus* of *Aragon*; for that he gaue aide to *Leuues* the twelueth, being excommunicated by *Iulius* the second. For great iniuries also done to holie Church, & for persecution of Bishops and religious, was *Iohn* one of our kinges of England with his whole land interdicted, and brought (after long struggling against God and the Sea Apostolique) to yeeld his Croune to the courtesie of the Popes Legate, and to make both his Realmes of England and Ireland, tributaries. The authentical instrument wherof *Iohn Bodin* saith he hath seene.

Kinges of England.

Lib. 1. de Repub. Cap. 9.

For like causes, and namelie for that he was vehementlie suspected of the murther of the blessed Bishop *S. Thomas of Canterburie*, was *Henrie* the second driuen by *Alexander* the third to order and penance. A number of the like examples moe we might recite, of our countrie and of the christian world; wherby not onelie the practize of the Church in al ages may be seene; but also Catholique men warranted that they be no traitors, nor hould assertions treasonable, false, or vndutiful; in answering or beleeuing, that for Heresie or such like notorious wickednes, a Prince (otherwise lausful and annointed) may be excommunicated, deposed, forsaken or resisted by the warrant

*No traitors
 opening that
 a Prince Anointed
 may be deposed
 for Heresie
 when
 A traitor is
 Judge:*

of holie Churches iudgement and Censure.

Wherynto we wil adde onelie the sentence of *Gregorie* the great and first of that name, whom the aduerfaries confesse to haue bene both learned and holie: who being as they knowe manie hundreth years before *Gregorie* the seuenth, and our special Apostle; pratised the point we now stand on, and therefore likely to be beleueed of al reasonable men. He therefore in the forme of his priuiledge graunted to *S. Medards* Monasterie thus decreeth. *Si quis (inquit) Regum; Antistitum; Iudicum, vel quarumcunque personarum secularium huius Apostolicae authoritatis & nostrae praeceptionis decreta violauerit, cuiuscunque dignitatis vel sublimitatis sit, honore suo priuetur.* If anie king, Prelate, Iudge, or what other secular person so euer shal transgresse this decree of our authoritie and commandement, of what preeminence or height so euer he be, let him be deprived of his dignitie.

An excommunication
of *S. Gregorie* vpon
Kinges and
Princes.
In fine libri
12. Epist.

A good Sentence
for the King
of Spaigne.

This was the right and power of *S. Gregorie*; and this hath bene the faith of Christian men euer sith our countrie was conuerted; and neuer subiect called in question much lesse accused of treason for it, til this miserable time; and lest of al, made or found treason by th'old lawes in *K. Edward* the thirdes reigne, as is pretended; how so euer by their new lawes they may and doe make what they list a crime Capital.

The othe
of the Kinges of
England at
their Coronation.

And euer sith the said *S. Gregories* time, or ther about, al kinges in Christendome, speciallie thos of Spaine, Fraunce, Pole, and England, take an othe vpon the holie Euangelistes at ther coronation, to keepe and defend the Catholique faith; and ours of England expresse, to manteine also the priuileges and liberties of the Church and Cleargie, giuen by *K. Edward* the Confessor and other faithful kinges their auncestors.

Wherof *S. Thomas* of *Canterburie* putteth his
Souveraigne

Soueraigne Henrie the second in memorie, both often in speech, and expresse in an epistle written to him in thes wordes: *Memores sitis confessionis quam fecistis & posuistis super Altare apud Westmonasterium, de seruanda Ecclesia libertate, quando consecrati fuistis & uncti in Regem a predecessore nostro Theobaldo.* Keepe in memorie the Confession which you made and laid vpon the Altar at Westminster, touching the keepig of holie Churches liberties, when you were consecrated and annointed king by my predecessor Theobald.

In vita 3.
Thome.

And the Patriarches of Constantinople, tooke an instrument of such as were to be crouned Emperours (speciallie in the times of Heresie) wherein they made the like promis and profession, to keepe and defend the Faith and decrees of holie Councils. So did the Patriarche Euphemius, in the Coronation of Anastasius; Nicephorus, in the inuesting of Michael; and others in the creatiō of other Emperours of the East. And Zonoras writeth that the Patriarche of Constantinople plainlie told Isaac Commenus th'Emperour, that as by his handes he receiued th'Empire: so if he gouerned not wel, by him it should be takē from him againe.

Zonor.
tomo. 3.
& Cuspi-
anus in
Anasta-
sio, & in
zimis.

Likewise when kinges, that before were infidels, doe enter by Baptisme into the Church, they submit their scepters to Christ, and consequētlie make them selues subiect & punishable if they reuoult from their Faith and promis.

In vhat
cases subie-
ctes may
breake
vvith their
Princes.

Vpon thes conditiōs therfore, and no other, Kinges be receiued of the Bishop that in Gods behalf annointeth them: which othe and promis being not obserued, they breake with God and their people; and their people may, and by order of Christes Supreme minister their cheefe Pastor in earth, must needes breake with them: Heresie and Infidelitie in the Prince tending directlie to the perdition of the Common

wealth and the soules of their subiects, & notoriouſly to the annoiance of the Church and true Religion, for the defence of which, Kinges by God are giuen.

By the fal of the King from the faith, the danger is ſo euident and ineuitable, that God had not ſufficiently provided for our ſaluation and the preſeruation of his Church and holy lawes, if ther were no way to depriue or reſtraine Apoſtata Princes.

*For they
death of
Christ
The exā-
is not ple of a
Prince moſt
ſufficient
dangerous.
for ſalvation*

We ſee how the whole world did runne frō Chriſt after *Iulian*, to plaine paganisme: after *Valens*, to Arianisme: after *Edvard* the ſixte with vs, into Zwinglianisme: & would doe into Turciſme, if anie powerable Prince wil lead his ſubiects that way.

If our faith or perdition ſhould on this ſort paſſe by the pleaſure of euerie ſecular Prince, and no remedie for it in the ſtate of the new Teſtament, but men muſt ſhould and obey him to what infidelitie ſo euer he ſa; then we were in worſe caſe then heathēſ, and al other humane commō wealthes; which both before Chriſt and after, haue had meanes to deliuer them ſelues frō ſuch Tyrants as were intollerable, and euidentlie pernicious to humane ſocietie and the good of the people; for whos peace and preſeruation, they were created by man, or ordeined by God.

*Our bond to
Chriſt more
then to our
Prince.*

The bond and obligation we haue entred into for the ſeruice of Chriſt and the Church, farre exceedeth al other dutie, which we owe to anie humane creature: and therfore wher the obediēce to th' inferior hindreth the ſeruice of th' other which is ſuperior, we muſt by lawe and order diſcharge our ſelues of th' inferior.

*Agēſt
How man
ſeparate
doctry
may depart
for Chriſt.
Scripto*

The wife if ſhe cannot liue with her owne huſband (being an infidel or an heretique) without iniurie and diſhonor to God; ſhe may depart from him, or contrariwiſe he from her, for the like cauſe: nether oweth the innocent partie nor th' other can laufullie claime, anie

anie coniugal dutie or debt in this case.

The verie bondslaue, which is in an other kind no lesse bound to his Lord and maister, then the subiect to his Soueraigne: may also by the ancient imperial lawes depart and refuse to obey or serue him, if he become an Heretique, yea *ipso facto* he is made free.

Finally the Parents that become Heretiques lose the superioritie and dominion they haue by law or nature ouer their owne children.

Therefore let no man maruel that in case of Heresy the Soueraigne loseth his superioritie and right ouer his people and kingdome: which can not be a laful Christian state or common-wealth without due obedience to Christ and to the Churches lawes; but may wel consist and not perish at al by change of their Prince or king: No anie one person being simplie necessarie for the preservation of the same; as some one (being an Heretique and enimie to Religion) may, & lightlie is (if he be suffred) the destruction therof.

And thus much may (as we trust) suffice with al reasonable indifferent persons, for defence of our brethrens answers touching the question of excommunication or deposition of Princes by the Pope: wherof by occasion more shalbe said in the next chapter and others folowing. The Libellers importunate insolency inforcing vs therunto; like as the Ciuil Magistrats most captious and bloody conceits cōstrained some of our blessed brethern before their martirdomes to speake more therof then otherwise they desired; though nothing so much as by warrant of Gods word and holy writ they might haue done.

H 2

A bondslaue
freed:
Theodos.

l. Man-
chaos. C.
de here-
ticiis.

par. Et. loose
Cap. fin. the
Extra de Supior
Hereti- over the
cis, Childerne

In case of
Heresy the
Soueraigne
loseth his
authority, Treason
to
God & to Rk
& Q. Q.

THAT IT IS MVCH TO THE BENEFITE AND STABILITIE OF COMMON wealthes, and speciallie of Kinges scepters, that the difference betwixt them and their people, for Religion or anie other cause for which they may seeme to deserue deprivation, may rather be decided by the supreme Pastor of the Church, as Catholiques would haue it; then by popular mutinie and phantasie of priuate men, as Heretikes desire, and practize.

CAP. VI.



The seditious sleight of the Libeller.

THE Libeller once or twice in his discours seditiously calleth vpon the Monarches and Princes of the world, warning the of the doubtful and seruile state they be in, whiles the Popes may be suffered to make and vnmake kinges and Princes at their pleasure, and to licence their subiectes to resist them.

And the man perchance might haue his tale heard, if he spake to the simple sort, or to such Kinges as feared nether God nor man; nor sought otherwise nor anie longer to vphould their estates, but by desperate force and practize, and for their owne time without regard of their posterity. But speaking to them whos wisdomes susteine the world; whos Crounes are worne, & Swordes are borne for Christ & his spouse; whos glorious Auncestors partlie first rose, & partlie were established, and them-selues yet safelie stand and happilie flourish (which our Lord God long continue) by the benediction of the Sea Apostolique and good intelligence & correspondēce with the high Bishops of the same; good audience hardly can they looke for. Th'example of some other Princes Protestants about them,

them, forsaking the felowship of the Catholique and Apostolique sea, and speciallie of king Hērie th'eight first; & his sonne and daughter after him, in Englād; a man, a child, and a woman, not onely seuering them selues from the same; but annexing to their regalitie, by strange lawes, al Apostolical and Papal power spiritual, with infinite emolumentes made by confiscatiō of al religious mens landes and goods in the whole Realme (which was the beginning of that new Ecclesiastical regiment): thes thinges (being of greater temptation then the Libellers bare wordes) could yet neuer moue th'Emperour, nor either of the great Monarches, nor anie other king of wise counsel in the world, to breake with Gods Church and the cheefe Pastors therof. Knowing by the recordes of al ages since Christ, that what Princes or Potētates soeuer haue formallie opposed thē selues to Christes Vicar; and refused to communicate with him, in the faith and felowship of the Catholique Church; were euer in them selues or their posteritie confounded, and their kingdomes ouerthrowen or brought to miserable seruitude of Turke or other heathen Tirant.

It is not the good fortune of a few yeares felicitie, that moueth the graue and sage gouernours of the world (though the Libeller, to make fooles faine, vttereth their good lucke in England much, since their breach with Gods Church): but they wil looke farther about them, and see the euents of thes strange attempts in vs, and the iudgements of God for the same: not onelie til th'end of K. Henrie th'eight his race (who was *Radix peccati*) but afterwarde, if our Lord deferre his sentence so long, to some new generations to come. Ouer which, as vpon the Prince and state present of our Countrie, we humblie on our knees with continual teares, desire God to haue mercie; and to auert his indignation from them and vs: that the

*The wise
considera-
tions of
Catholique
Princes.*

Princes and people of the world, may rather be edified by th'example of our conuerſion and returne to Gods Church; then be instructed by the ſight of our puniſhment and conſuſion.

*The Popes
authoritie
touching
Princes re-
galities.*

But now for the cōcept that this good man would driue into mens heades, that no ſtate ſhould be in ſaſetie, if the Pope might depriue the Prince at his pleaſure; it is a bugge fit onclie to feare babes. Al wiſe men in the world that ether ſee the preſent times, or looke backe into the ages paſt, knowe; that the Pope neither chalengeth nor uſurpeth nor uſeth anie ſuch authoritie at his pleaſure, to depoſe or exalt whom he liſt. And al learned deuines confeſſe that he hath not anie direct or immediate iuriſdictiō or ſuperioritie ouer the temporalities, Ciuil ſtates, or regalities of ſecular Princes or Magiſtrates: and therefore can not diſpoſe of their kingdomes nor actions, alter nor abrogate their lawes; as he daylie doth and may doe at his good pleaſure, of Prelates, Biſhops, and Priests affaires, vpon whom he hath direct power and iuriſdiction: but that he may onely intermedle indirectlie with temporal Princes, as he is the Cheefe officer vnder Chriſt and hath charge of their ſoules, and therbie hath to looke whether their regimentes tend anie way to the iniurie of the Church and true Religion, or to their owne and their ſubiects damnation; as in caſe of Schiſme, Hereſie, Apoſtaſie, Idolatrie, Sacriledge, and other intollerable defectes in gouernmēt: for which, he being their Biſhop is bound to admoniſh them ſondrie times with al lenitie; if that ſerue not, to excommunicate them; and if they contemne that, and the Churches diſcipline and authoritie; then be they eſteemed as heathens, and vnworthie of ſuperioritie ouer Gods people.

This is not to depoſe Kinges at his pleaſure; nor is cauſe ſufficient why anie iuſt and Chriſtian Prince ſhould

should stand in doubt of the Popes censures: onelie such as be Heretiques, or intend to shake of the yoke of Christ and their faith in him, haue cause in their conscience to doubt both the Churches discipline, & the plagues of God: which wil not faile them, how so euer by humane force and violence they protect them selues for a time, from his Ministers sentence & sweet corrections.

*What
Princes
only feare
the Pope.*

Al iust and Catholique Kinges are so far from doubting or misliking Gods ordinance and the practice of the sea Apostolique herein; that they perceiue it most necessarie for the stabilitie of their kingdomes, and the continuance of their posteritie in the glorie therof, that for their regiment in faith and life they stand in some reuered awe of their cheefe Pastors; which is a necessarie and honorable bridle of Princes in their youth, and al the dayes of their life, to stay them from dangerous disorders, and so to temper them in ther gouernmēt, that they may raigne long and happilie ouer their people: wher otherwise they might fall into infinite calamities; and be ether forsaken, deposed, or shamefullie destroyed by their owne subiects; whether they be depriued by holie Churches censure, or no.

Nether doth anie godlie Christian Prince at this day (as we thinke) wishe their Empire, ether in them selues, their children, or posteritie to dure anie longer; then they continue in the Catholique faith, and the communion of the Sea and Church Apostolique: nor would suffer anie of their name or blood to reigne after them, that were like to be Heretiques; but rather would disinherit or execute them with their owne handes, then feare or expect their deposition by the Pope.

Therefore though with such as feeble their owne fault it soundeth euil to heare of the Authoritie and vsage

of Gods Church in censuring kinges: yet it troubleth not anie iust and lauful Prince: especiallie when by their wisdom & experience they may perceiue, that Princes, about al other, both good and euil, be subiect to humane casualties; and may fal, and loose their kingdomes by an hundreth accidents of mutinies and rebellions of their subiects, or by external or domestical warres of Competitours or enimyes: to al

*The great comodities
which
grow to al
kingdomes
by the Popes
high authoritie.*

which, the Popes highe authoritie and interest giueth great stay and moderation, in deciding the controuersies of titles, and causes of ciuil or forraine warres; and by his manifold endeouours of Pacification and composition, wherof al the kinges and states Christian, haue at sondrie times of their distresses, receiued singular profit; as appeareth in the histories of the warres, betwixt our nation, Fraunce, and Scotland; and in our owne Ciuil tumultes, which haue bene often appeased by the mediation of the Pope: both parties deferring to him as to the high Priest and general Arbiter of Christian Princes and people (being to al indifferent without al partialitie) the decision of thos thinges which otherwise could not by lawes nor by armes without lamentable destruction and much blood be determined. Wherebie Princes of lesse power, iniured by the greater and mightier, haue euer found succour and redresse: and iust kinges distressed by their rebellious subiectes, haue had singular assistance.

As we may see in the stories both of our owne Countrie, wher the Popes haue sent diuers Legates to the Barons, being vp against their lauful Soueraignes, to admonish them to lay doune their armes; and when they would not, excommunicated them; by which meanes manie a king with vs hath kept his Croune, which otherwise had bene depriued, by tumultuous and popular sedition: and no lesse in the

examples

examples of other nations, and that in our owne memories; hauing experience of diuers blessed Popes diligence, in aiding the two great Monarches, aswel by the powers temporal which God hath giuen them, as by ecclesiastical Censures against their rebels; and large spiritual graces & benedictions bestowed vpon al that would faithfullie adioine to the repression of the seditious subiects, and the preservation of the Soueraigne.

The Apostolique Bishop is not an enimie to superioritie and domination, which he knoweth best to be of God, as his owne high estate is: but a spiritual and most louing Parent and common Father of al Christians, and speciallie of Princes. He seeketh not their depositions, nor mainteineth reuoultues from them; no not the, when to his infinite greefe he is forced sometimes (though meruelous seldome) to giue sentence for the people & subiects against the Prince: but vseth needful discipline towards them for their saluation.

The Bishoplike authoritie no enimie to Princes.

Let the graue and wise men of al nations consider with vs, whether Princes be in more danger of their state by the lauful Pastors of their soules that iudge by Gods spirit, by counsel, deliberation, order and authoritie; without malice, hatred, or partialitie: or by Heretiques, seditious and rebellious persons; that deale by erroneous conscience, phantasie and furie.

The Protestantes plainlie hould in al their writings and schooles, and so practize in the sight of al the world; that Princes may for tirannie or Religion be resisted & depriued. We and al Catholiques likewise affirme that for Heresie and some other great enormities, they may be excommunicated and further censured. But the Protestants would haue them selues & the subiects to rebel and throwe doune their superiors, on their owne head and wilfulnes; and them

*A reasonable
demand
to the Li-
beller.*

selues to be iudges of their Soueraignes desertes and Religion. Now we demaund of the Libeller, that giueth Princes so frendlie warning of their dangerous estates; if Popes may vse such authoritie ouer Princes, whether the Kinges of Christendome (whom their owne sect-maisters confesse may be deposed) stand not in far greater hazard of their dominions and persons by the brutish and seditious people, armed alwaies with furie, and often also (as at this present) with Heresie, then they are of Popes?

It was not the Pope that gaue licēce or encouragement to the subiects of Scotlād to take armes against their natural liege and Q.; to emprison her; and to cause her by feare of death to resigne her Croune. It is not the Pope that embouldened them barbarousslie, to restraine their noble yong King, and so often to rebel against him: though nether they for his Religion haue anie reason to depriue him; nor the Popes Holines (otherwise then for the iustice of his quarel against his rebels) anie cause to defend him. It was not the Pope that licensed the subiects of the king Catholique, to fight so long and obstinatlie against their Lord and maister: nor that encouraged them to depriue him of his soueraigntie and ancient inheritance. It was not the Pope that hath hazarded three mightie Kinges, his most Christian Maiesty that now is, and his two crowned brethrē before him, of their States; and bereaued them of manie great partes and cities of their kingdome: or that went about to depriue them, euen in the time of their innocencie and yong years. Popes vse to defend innocents, not to destroye them in their nonage; or to abuse their minoritie. And such is otherwise the manifold hazard of kinges by rebellions, that in our owne Countrie, the Child hath deposed his Father; the Vncle his Nephew; the Wife her owne Husband: and

*The danger
of Princes
by rebellio.*

& most commonlie the worse and more wicked, the more godlie and innocent. And we maruel much, this Libeller that would seeme to be such a Statesman and a Counseller to forreine kinges, could find no danger to them and their countries, sauing of the Popes power ouer them: which in verie truth by Christs special prouidence, is the greatest protection, garde, and stay, that innocent Princes and their people can haue: the awe and reuerend respect of his holie authoritie keeping thousandes from rebellion and intrusion; and a number of iust Princes in their empires, which els had bene in diuers countries ouerthrowen.

The Protestantes cannot proue by example of all nations & times since Christ, that anie one hath bene deposed, that was not prooued to be a notorious Heretique or euil man. On th' other side, Rebels, and namely Heretiques, by vnlaful meanes, depriue commonlie none but innocent, iust, and holie Princes. Vnto whos barbarous crueltie this Libeller would haue their sacred Maiesties rather thral & obnoxious, then to submit the selues to the sweet yoke of Christs kingdome and Priesthood; or to concurre in happie vnitie with such as Christ and the Holie-ghost haue placed ouer the Church for the guiding of her people to saluation, and that also in worldlie peace and tranquillitie as much as in them lieth: which is their cheefe honor and greatest garde that may be both to Prince & people: as the contrarie motion of wicked men to sowe debate betwene Princes & Pastors is surely more vnnatural, the to put discord betwixt the bodie & the soule in the regimēt of a mā's persō: wherī as the whole frame is best gouerned & preferued, when the flesh can be cōtented to be ruled by the spirite; so no doubt the tēporal power consisteth most safelie & endureth longest, when it hath good correspondence and sub-

The practise of Heretikes.

A fit similitude.

ordination to the spiritual ; which seeketh euer al aduancement and safetie to the secular Powers appointed by God, for the worldlie weale of their subiects. Which terrene felicitie (necessarie for the cleargie also in this life no lesse then for others) is alwaies by the state Ecclesiastical, most zealouslie mainteined against the disturbers of peace, concord, and due obedience to superiours.

And therfore as the Church of God, and namelie the Sea Apostolique, hath receiued (in respect of the honor due to Christ & his principal Apostle *S. Peter*) infinite exaltation, by the Christian kinges of al nations : so on th'other side, the Popes of al ages, haue fought by al meanes possible, to aduance to honor, glorie, and encrease, Christian kinges and states not onelie spirituallie (which is their first & cheefe care) but also temporallie ; wherof euerie nation Christianed hath had sufficient prooffe.

*Dominions
holden by
the Popes
meanes.*

But to say nothing of Catholique Kinges or Countries which gladlie acknowledge the benefite ; and wil auouch the right and iust title of anie their dominions, receiued of the sea Apostolique, or adiudged theirs by the same : (for though the Libeller would make them weene it were a base and perilous matter to stand at the Popes courtesie in such things ; yet he can perswade none of them that they hould anie peece of their states by euil conscience which is fallen vnto them that way, by the Popes warrant ; nor is he so eloquent as to make them yeeld vp the same to their old owners againe :) the states and Princes Protestantes must ether acknowledge the benefite and iust possession of diuers high dignities, titles, and crounes receiued by the said sea of *S. Peter*, or els they be neither kind nor wise.

Is not the Emperial dignitie the highest humane preeminence that can be in this world? And can the
Ger-

German protestants denie but that they hould or had that of the Pope? For where some wrangle that it came by election of the people of Rome; that is most false, & contrarie to al histories and reason. Dare they denie the Pope to haue had lauful power to translate th'empire out of Greece? or wil they say their Emperour that now is, and al other his predeceffors since *Charles* the great, were vsurpers; as they should be, if the order or disposition of the holie Sea, were not lauful? No protestant nor other man in his wit wil so say; and speciallie no Alman, to the glorie of whos nation, this thing so much pertaineth. This nation therefore hath no cause to complaine of the high spiritual authoritie, by which it self hath bene an hundreth times more aduanced, then hindred or diminished.

*The Em-
pire from
the Pope.*

As Likewise th'order of the Election, and (which al men esteeme for a title of most high dignitie) the Electorship it self was giuen to certaine Princes of Germanie by Gregorie the fift: who as the Magdeburge historians them selues speake, being a German and desirous to adorne his natieue Countrie with some excellent honor; deuised that the election of the king (which after his coronation by the Pope, should also be called *Imperator* and *Augustus*) should onelie pertaine to the Germans.

*Cent. 10.
Cap. 10.*

Now let the Heretiques speake and yeeld ther reason (who tooke the matter so much in dougē thes last years past, that the Pope should intermedle with the displacing of the Elector of Colen. What? A Pope to depose an Elector, said they? As though a Pope might not depriue an vnworthie *Apostata* Bishop of his Sea and Electorship; who first created and gaue vnto that nation and to that Sea, both Elector and Electoral dignitie it self? Let them tel vs why his authoritie is not as great in depriuing for iust cause, as

*The fond
reasoning of
Heretiques
about the
Popes depo-
sing of the
late Bishop
of Colen.*

his power was sufficient to establish that honor in Germanie?

And Let the Libeller that accompteth it so vnworthie a thing, that some Popes haue giuen censure vpon the Princes of the holie Empire, be demaunded, who established that high state in that countrie? and whether he that had power to doe that, can want anie warrant to depriue an euil or wicked person of the Empire? And in breefe; let him be asked whether that noble nation haue not receaued more dignitie and profit temporal then hurt and hinderance by that Papal power ouer kingdomes, which this man in his seditious pride so much abhorreth?

England
greatly in-
debted to
the sea
Apostoli-
que.

But to come to that which we & the Libeller best of al doe knowe and toucheth vs English more neare at home, and may be an instruction and prooffe of the cause in hand to other strangers abroad. Surely, if the people of our Country knew ther owne good, and were grateful as they were wont to be (for now this brutish Heresy hath made them without affection, as S. Paul speaketh of such vnnatural Sectaries) they would acknowledge, that as to the Sea Apostolique they owe their first faith and Christianity (not only for conuerting the Britons, who were the ancient inhabitants of the Iland, but also the English themselves afterward, and that in very memorable sort: reconciling them estrangers againe to holy Church after their relapse; and endowing their Princes and Prelats with such singular prerogatiues, as no particular Church or Common welth in the world, with the good grace of al other Christian states be it spoken, had greater or more honorable): so would they in like manner, besides thes spiritual fauors, confesse themselves indebted for the temporal aduancement of our Princes, receiued from the same Sea Apostolique; seeing the regiment and Lordship of Ireland

was by the Popes only gift bestowed vpon our So-
uerains in the time of Pope *Adrian* the fourth and *Popes gift*
K. *Henry* the second 400. years agoe; they hauing vnto *En-*
no other title therunto in the world but by this *gland.*
graunt of the Sea Apostolique. Which title notwithstanding, we doubt not, but that our English Protestantes wil accompt sufficient euen vnto this day: and K. *Henrie* th'eight, being fallen from the Church, and making himself of a member the Head therof in his Realme; went forward vpon this title, and of his owne new Papal authoritie from the Lord of *Ireland*, made and called him self the King therof. Which stile was afterward (as we take it) by due authoritie of the Pope confirmed to Q. *Marie*. So desirous hath bene alwaies the holie Sea of Rome, to encrease our Princes with al due honor, & to enlarge their dominions. None of which titles, prerogatiues, authorities or dignities (though receiued onely or principallie by the Popes fauour or gift) any one of our kinges of what Religion so euer, was yet so wilful to reiect or let goe, or yet so nise in Faith as to make scruple of conscience to receaue or retaine as lafullie possessed, what so euer they haue obtained that way; though vngratful persons acknowledge no benefite therin.

And not onely large kingdomes so obtained, Prin-
ces are contented to kepe without scruple; but hould
also al other titles of honour annexed by his Holines
to their Regal dignities vpon what cause soeuer: as is
to be seene in sondry great and mighty Monarches
of Christendome, vpon whom diuers high titles haue
bene bestowed by the sea Apostolique for their most
Christian and Heroical endeouours for the Church,
and their zeale against Heretiques and Infidels: as *Catholique* in Spaine; *most Christian* in France; and such
like els wher: and in our Country a stile no lesse ho-

All Princes.
contented to
receaue
hold & vse
titles of ho-
nor and di-
gnitie from
the Pope.

*The stile of
Defendour
of the faith.*

nourable the former; that is, *Defendour of the Faith*, which stile and title al the Protestants in the world doe knowe, that it was giuen by Pope *Leo* the tenth to *K. Henrie* the eight, for his defense of the Catholique Romaine faith by writing, yet exstant vnder his owne hand against *Martin Luther*. And albeit the cause for which it was giuen, be now quite altered and the Popes authoritie from which it was receaued extremely impugned: yet the right therof coming onely from that authoritie now accompted so vnlaful, none of our kings wil leaue, or wil renounce the same, as indeed we wish they should not; for that it notable putteth them in mind, what Church and Faith it is, that they are bound to defend; and against what kind of men they beare the sword which God hath put into their hand.

*The parti-
cular ben-
efits recea-
ued from
this Pope.*

We might adde to this, the singular and incomparable fauors and daylie benefits done by his Holines that now is, to our nation, aboue al his predecessors assuredly, excepting *S. Gregorie* the great our first Apostle. Whos diuine grace and example of Charitie he so zealouslie doth imitate towards vs, not onelie for the saluation of the whole deceiued Countrie, but for the particular releefe of manie hundrethes of al sortes, ages, and sexes, that are driuen by violence of cruel persecution into diuers Catholique Prouinces, and are forced to leaue their Countrie and what so euer is deare vnto them, to learne that Faith in which al their forefathers so honorablie liued and died. By which his rare benefits, his happie name (as *Gregories* the first) must needes be in English memories immortal: maugré this ingratful Heresie, to which (we hope) he shal once be the bane.

*The Chari-
tie of Gre-
gorie the
first to-
wards*

Of the said *Gregorie* the great his more then common loue of our soules, we haue (besides other Apostolical charitie) this grateful example: that his Holie-

nes receiuing great sommes of monie in thos dayes out of Fraunce, & hauing intelligence that ther were disperfed through that prouince numbers of English children, bought as bōdslaues for doing of al drudgerie for their maisters profit (as the state of seruitude required); and that they liued ther in thraldome both of bodie and soule, vnbaptized: the Blessed Father taking deepe compassion of their miserable case, speciallie because they were of that Nation which was then nuelie gained by his trauaile vnto Christ: he wrote letters to his receiuour in thos partes that he should not make the french money (which was ther to be receiued) ouer to *Rome* by exchange; but employ it in Fraunce wher it was currant vpon Charitable vses: speciallie therewith to deliuer English Children from seruitude, and to bring them into *Italie* by troupes, hauing good graue Priestes to ouersee and instruct them in the Faith; and if anie dangerous sickness should fal to anie of them in the way, to baptize them. So as he did not onelie procure our peoples saluation at home by sending in diuers learned men to preach and teach the Gospel, vnder the conduction of holie *S. Augustine* our Apostle: but also by education abroad of great numbers of our Nation, to his great charges temporal. So did this renoued Pope and Doctor for our Countrie, to bring it from Paganisme to Christ, and through God preuayled; and deserueth for the same, immortal glorie both in heauen and earth. And no lesse trulie doth *Gregorie* the thirteenth for reconciling our countrie from Heresie, deserue: both bringing vp abroad great numbers of the Nation at his owne charges in Godlie discipline, and the same Faith that the foresaid *S. Gregorie* his Patrone and predecessor first caused to be taught to our forefathers; and also disposeth of manie fit persons endued with zeale and spiritual power, to returne in

peaceable, humble, and Apostolique maner to their Countrie, ther to teach the decued, & to reconcile the by spiritual power & Preistlie functiō, to the vni-ty of Gods Church againe, out of which they are most sure to perish; and not by raising rebellion or tumultes, as this Libeller most falselie pretendeth.

*The frute
of Preestes
labours in
England.*

Which holie function for that they haue done (by Gods great grace and goodnes) with farre more frute and encrease of the Catholique religion, and notorious damage of Heresie, then Protestantes feared at the beginning: therefore haue they subtellie and falselie turned al thes heroical endeours of his Holines, & good offices of Gods Priestes, into matters of State and Treason; and would make al Princes and people abroad belceue (that are not acquainted as necessitie hath driuen vs to be with the practize of the first Apostles and Fathers of the primitiue Church; atchiuing the conuersion of manie cities & countries in no other sort then our brethren most godlie and dutifullie doe attempt in our nation) that al our preaching, perswading, praying, offering sacrifice, hearing confessions, absolving, reconciling; hauing of beades, crosses, images, and the like; were seditious, rebellious, traiterous, and plaine conspiracie against the Q. Maiesty and the Realme. Yea they would so farre (if they could) abuse the patience and simplicitie of Christian people both of their owne Countrie and others; that they would haue them thinke, our holie and highe Pastor to haue erected the two Seminaries and other commodities of learning and godlie education for our countrie-men, vpon no other occasion, but to moue sedition and rebellion: and therefore are so farre from giuing him humble thanks, as they ought to doe (& as our Nation wil once doe, if euer it come to it self againe) that they hate his person and office for this cause most deadle; and doe

*The great
malice and
ingratitude
of England
towards
this Pope.*

doe publish by this Libel and otherwise, that it is a worke of high hostilitie against her Maiefty. But alas for pitie; and woe be to our sinnes, that the state of our Common-wealth is now so neerlie ioined vnto Heresie; that nether Christes Vicar by charitie and discipline, nor Gods Priestes by anie office of ther life and death, can seeke to remedie the one, but they shalbe accompted enimies and traitors to the other. Which fond malice yet (through our infelicitie) is more apparant in England, then in anie other people of the world besides; though in error and out of Gods Church, as ours. It is the peculiar glorie of *Gregorie* the thirtenth aboue al his predecessors and other Prelates of al ages, that in so sweet and Apostolique sort he prouideth for the instruction of innumerable youthes, for their owne saluation, and for the reduction of their natiue countries, and interteining the Catholique faith in most prouinces of the world. Many are the people in the world abroad, especiallie in the East, South, and North partes therof; which are in Schisme, Heresie, or Error no lesse the English; and the incomparable care of this general Pastor, prouideth for euerie one in the best maner that is possible, as wel by corporal as spiritual releefe. He hath at this day some of the fathers of the Societie of Iesus in *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, and els wher-so-
 euer is anie oportunitie to gaine soules: in the dominions of the Turke; in *Muscovia* likewise, and other Prouinces addicted to the errors of the *Grecians*. He hath instituted Seminaries for the *Greekes*, *Armenians*, and *Sclauonians*: he hath placed colledges of the Societie and Seminaries, in *Suetia*, *Liuania*, *Polonia*, *Boemia*, *Transilvania*; for *Scotland* also, and speciallie for the noble Prouince of *Germanie*. Yea his pastoral sollicitude reacheth euen to the East Indies: wher in Iapon he hath founded this last yeare past, and mainteineth a

The godlie
& Zealous
doinges of
this Pope
for religion.

The Society
of Iesus in
*Constanti-
nople*.

goodlie colledge, not without his great expenses.

Thus he doth in the cause of Christ, from one end of the world to an other; whilest his, and holie Churches miserable aduersaries, waste their time in wrangling and wraftling against the truth. And ther is none of al thes Nations of what sect or sort so euer, that can be so suspicious or malicious as to interpret his Holines meaning, as th'English doe: or that conceiue anie feare of treasons, confederacies, inuasions, or destructions of their countries, as our men dreame of.

Other nations in Scism not so ingrat as England.

The *Germanes*, though al be not Catholiques, but manie much altered, by their vnaduised folowing of *Martin* & other as madde sectaries: yet they al count it a singular honor & profit to their nation, that they haue so famous a college in *Rome* it self; as our Nation did of olde, when it had there a great schoole, about a thousand yeares agoe, builded by king *Offa*, and afterward an hospital. Wher now we of England be come, by this wicked Heresie, to be so carcles of our publique profit and honor: that we contemne and maliciouslie condemne, a gift farre more excellēt thē euer was bestowed vpon our Countrie before in forreine places; and most deuillishlie doe hate the giuer.

The name of Seminaries.

The name of Bulls.

Wherin the Heretiques in this Libel and otherwise shew such ignorant & barbarous mockerie, touching the terme of *Seminaries*: (as though they were estranged from al actions of the Christian world, through out al which, that terme and calling is so common; namelie since the godlie decree of the holie Council of *Trent*, giuing order for the erection of such nurseries for the clergie;) as it is tooo ridiculous in our English Heretiques to make them selues sport at it: as they wiselie doe in this Libel also at the name of the Popes *Bulls*, by pretie allusion as they thinke (but indeed with smal grace) resembling them to the bubbles

bubbles of water ; with such scornful companions
 the Church of God hath now to deale. But, for defen-
 ce of the Societie , Seminaries , and the sending
 of Priestes into England ; the men of thos
 orders and qualitie , haue age and habilitie
 to answer for them selues : and it is done
 to our handes plentifullie in their A-
 pologie, which the aduersaries shal
 neuer answere with reason and
 credit. And therfore of
 that matter inough,

*The En-
 glish Apo-
 logie.*

I 3



OF THE LATE WARRES IN IRELAND FOR RELIGION: HOW THE POPE may use the sword; and that the differences betwixt temporal Princes and him, or their resisting him in some cases of their worldlie interest, can be no varrant to the Protestantes to contemne his censures or authoritie in matter of Faith and Religion.

CAP. VII.

How the
Pope may
use the
sword.



VT the aduersarie obiecteth that whatsoeuer the Pope doth or may doe, by his Bulls, excommunications, institution of Seminaries or other such like spiritual endeouours, may either be contemned or neglected, by the example of her Maiesty; who regarded not his doinges against her, so long as he satt stil in his Chair: but when he rose vp in anger, and left *Verbum*, the word; and tooke *Ferrum*, the sword; (against *S. Bernardes* direct aduice to *Eugenius*, saith this Libeller): yea and when contrarie to the Scriptures he drew forth the sword, which Christ commaunded *Peter* to put vp into the scabard, and inuaded by his forces her Maiesties kingdome of *Ireland*: then (saith this good man) she could doe no lesse but vse such resistance by armes and otherwise, as was requisite for her owne defence.

Lib. i.
cōt. Fau-
stum. cap.
17.

Wherat we maruellesse indeed; for that before, she had contemned the Popes spiritual rodde of excommunication, and al Ecclesiastical admonition and censure, which is the high Priestes and Churches most proper weapon; and is more to be feared of al faithfull persons (as holie *S. Augustine* saith) Then to be heuved
in peeces

in peeces vvith the svord, burned vvith the fire, or torne in sonder of vvilde beastes; and is a punishment so dreadful, that euen then when it is knowen to be executed without iust cause by some errour or wrong information, it may not be contemned. Therefore where that was not regarded, we knowe ther could be no scruple to withstand anie other Martial attempt, against Pope or whomsoever; nether could it seme strange.

But at this, al the world may wonder, and it is maruelous in our eyes; why the Popes hostilitie in *Ireland*, should condemne so manie innocent Priests and Catholics that neuer were in Ireland, nor euer were acquainted with the action of that Countrie or anie other rebellion against the Queene in ether of her kingdomes. Put doune to the world (if you can) anie one word, writing, or approued witnes, that anie *Iesuite*, Priest, or Seminarie man of al thos whom you haue executed thes late yeares, were ether authors, persuaders, or dealers therin; and then you may haue some shadow of defence for your iustice. Proue only that his Holines euer communicated his doings or intentions (whatsoever they were that way) to anie one of them al, and we wil confesse that you haue reason in the rest. If *Pius quintus* addressed *Doctor Nicholas Morton* sixtene yeares since, about the matter of the excommunication, into England: shal al Priestes & *Iesuites* be deemed traitors therfore? If *Doctor Saunders* ether vpon his owne zeale and opinion of the iustnes of the quarel; or at the Popes appointmēt, were in the warres of *Ireland* emploied for defence of the Catholique Religion, against the Protestants; may you by your lawes, or anie other diuine or humane ordinance, condemne therfore to death, a number that neuer knew ether the man or the matter? Some pretence you may haue to be offended with the Pope, and perhaps lacke no lawes to punish the said two Doctors, that neuer

*The Popes
doinges no
cause to
martyr
Priestes.*

D. Morton

D. Sanders.

were ether of the Societie or Seminaries: but to make al the Priestes and Catholiques at home or in banishment traitors therbie, it is to vnreasonable; and to murder so cruellie one man for an others fault, is too foule and intollerable iniquity.

The warres of Ireland.

And as for his Holines action in *Ireland*; we that are neither so wise, as to be worthie; nor so mallepert, as to challenge to knowe his intentions council and disposition of thos matters: can nor wil nether defend nor condemne it. Onelie this is euident, that thos smal succours which were giuen by him to the Irish, or rather suffred at their owne aduenture to goe into thos warres: came vpon the importunate sute of the sore afflicted Catholiques, and some of the cheefest nobilitie of that countrie. Of whos continual complaints, knowen calamities, and intollerable distresses of conscience & otherwise, it may be he was moued with compassion; and did that in cause of Religion; (against one whom he tooke in his owne iudgement rightlie by his predecessours sentence to be deposed; and in a quarel in his sight most iust and godlie) which, both her Maiesty and other temporal Princes sticke not to doe verie often towards their neighbours (with whom otherwise they pretend good amitie and no breach of their league at al) in cases which ether they esteeme laful, or at lest behoofful for their owne estate and affaires.

And it is a strange case that thes men should with such ful mouth cry out against the highe Preeft and Pastor of Gods Church, for vsing the sword, or geuig his consent therunto, against a Prince not any way his superior if no way his subiect; wheras the Ministers and maisters of their sects both in *Flanders*, *Scoteland*, and other places doe not only counsel and persuaade subiectes to take armes against their owne laful Princes and sacred Kinges, but also doe practise and in person

son oppose them selues against them; yea in *Scoteland* against a Prince of their owne Religion.

For tel me (Sir Libeller if you please) were not the Ministers of *Scoteland* the principal fannes and firebrandes of the last Conspiracy and open rebellion against his Maiesties person and the state of that Country? Were not they in person at *Starling* and els wher both in feeld and councel with the Erles of *Anguish*, *Marre*, & other rebels against his Roial person? Were not al their pernicious machinations of betraing their country and their Princes blood, detected by the *Erle of Gory*, before his late behedding for that Conspiracy? Are not *Patrike Galovvay*, minister of S. Ihonson; *Andrevv Pollard*, subdeane of Glasco: *Iames Carmihel*, minister of Haddingtō; *Andrevv Hay*, person of Ranfroe; *Andrevv Meluin*, professour of diuinity in S. Andrews; and diuers other cheefe ministers of that country fled into *England* for this traiterous fact, and ther receaued, cherished, and protected?

And since that time; wheras in a Parliamēt houlden in *Edenburgh* by his Maiesty and al the three states of *Scoteland*, begonne the 19. of May last past, certaine lawes were amongst others enacted for the restraint of thes Ministers tumultuous authority, and to bring them vnder their owne Bishops iurisdiction (a thing so resonable and consonant to Gods word as nothing can be more; and practised not only in *Englād* amōg their fellow-sectaries, but also thorough-out al Christendome, disorderly and seditious *Geneua* only excepted): and when thes lawes that were made by authority of the three Estates and published not only in the Councel-house called *Toulbooth*, but also at the Crosse of *Edēburgh* by Heraldes at armes for the state; did not *Robert Pont* and *VValter Baquanquel* (two most impudent and rebellious Ministers of that tōune, by the consent and prouocation of *Iames Lauson* cheefe

preacher ther (as afterward appeared) oppose them selues in publique against the Kinges authority (therby to raise vp some commotion) by their open protestation made by instrument in the handes of *George Wakefon* publique Notary and toun-Clarke of that Citty: and did not althes three named Ministers by night flye presently into *England* after their insufferable insolency; and are ther receaued, harboured, and maintained?

Againe; in the last Parliament before this, being about two yeares agoe, did not thes Ministers (intending therby some dangerous reuolt and seditious defection) demaund of their king in most impudent wise to be admitted into the Parliament, as equal, or aboue their Bishops; whom they deny by Gods word to haue any supereminent authority? Is not this one of their articles for which their archebishop of *S. Andrews* doth withstand them; and hath bene of late in *England* to cōferre with the Protestāts of that Country about the same? Is it not an other of their articles, that it is an Heresy for any Prince to cal himself *Head of the Church* within his owne Realme? & that he may be excommunicated and deposed by the Ministers? Haue not they excommunicated and held out by violence thes two yeares and more, their archebishop of *Glasco* elected by the King, named *M. Robert Montgomery*; vntil now, that this last Parliament of May hath absolued and restored him vnto his archebishoprike againe?

You exclame against the Pope being the first and cheef prelate of al Christendome (euē by your owne confession) for geuing his consent that any thing be done or attempted by armes and violence against any lauful or annointed Prince whatsoeuer; be it for Religion or any other neuer so rightful or iust cause in his conceipt: but what would thes good-fellowes of your Gospel

Ghospel doe if they had his authority, his power, and his pretence against foraine Princes of a contrary Religion; seing in quarel of faction and fauour of ranke traitors they deale thus against their owne Leege, and against their owne annointed sworne King; of their owne country, blood, educatiō and Religion: who as he neuer iustly offended them in any sort; so hath he by infinite fauours and graces bound them vnto him in al most dutiful allegiance.

Againe; as in the rebellions of *Scotland*, so likewise in *Flaunders*, and *Fraunce*, hath England thes late years yeelded no aide to the subiects, against their laful Princes? Haue not their bāners bene openly displayed vpon their anciēt frēdes and confederates wals? Haue they not houlden their tounes from them by maine force? Haue they not manie wayes stirred and succoured, with men, money, and munition, the rebellious subiects of al countries nere about them? Yea; haue they not in diuers Parliamēts, and namely in the Parliamēt houlden in the fift yeare of her Maiesties reigne 1563. as also in an other Parliament in the 13. yeare of her reigne 1571. published in print that the cheef consideratiōs (moouing the whole assembly of Caluinistes both of the Cleargy and Temporalty gathered in thos Parliaments to graunt thos two great *Subsidies*) were in respect of the *Inestimable charges* (for such is their owne phrāse) susteined by the Queene in maintenance of (the rebellious Heretikes) their deare brethren, against their leege Lords and Souerains of France, Scoteland, and other places? Is it not now a special rule in gouernment amongst the worldlie Machiuelians, to mainteine their owne repose by their neighbours trouble? If this be vsual in al other cases, and of manie not much reprehended, for the aduantage of the temporal state of anie Prince: is it onelic so great a maruel that the Pope should doe that for

*Englād ge-
neith aide
also to other
Princes
subiects.*

*See the
Acts of
subsidies.
A°. 1. Reg.
Eliz. cap.
29. & 30.
& A°. 13.
cap. 23.*

zeale of true Religion, which other Kinges doe, for matters of far lesse importance? And if our coniecture may serue anie thing in this matter; perhaps he was the rather redie to do this for Ireland, for that the *Sea Apostolique* hath an olde claime vnto the souerain- tie of that Countrie; and that before the couenantes passed betwene King *Iohn* and the same sea. Which chalenges, Princes commonlie yeeld not vp, by what ground so euer they come. Though for this Pope pre- sent (whom God long preserue) we may be bould to say, that he had rather haue the two Ilandes Catho- lique, then the real possession of al the world: for the saluation of the people wherof, no doubt he would spend in *Apostolique* wise his owne blood; so great an enimie he is to our nation.

The issue
ioined vppō
S. Bernar-
des opinion,
whether
the Pope
may vse the
sword.

Li. 4. Cap.
3. ad Eu-
genium.

But the Libeller saieth, he should vse the *VWord* and not the *Sword*; according to *S. Bernardes* admoni- tion. Wel; let vs then stand to that holie Fathers iud- gement herein, & the matter wilbe more easilie tried; as also the fraude of this faitheles Libeller, by our faithful repeating the whole sentence, shalbe disco- uered; & withal the Scriptures (alleged for the same purpose) expounded. *Propter hoc (saieth he) magis aggre- dere eos, sed verbo non ferro. Quid tu denno usurpare gladium tentes, quem iussus es ponere in vaginam? quem tamen qui tuū negat, non satis mihi videtur attendere verbum Domini di- centis sic; Conuerte gladium tuum in vaginam. Tuus ergo & ipse, tuo forsitan nutu, etsi non tua manu euagivandus: alio- quin si nullo modo ad te pertineret, & is, dicentibus Apostolis, Ecce duo gladij hic: non respondisset Dominus, satis est; sed ni- mis est. Vterq; ergo Ecclesiæ, & spiritalis scilicet gladius & materialis; sed is quidem pro Ecclesiā, ille verò ab Ecclesiā exer- cendus est; ille Sacerdotis, is militis manu; sed sanè ad nutum* „ Sacerdotis & iussum Imperatoris. That is in our tongue. „ For that cause thou shouldest the rather set vppō them; „ marry with the word, not with the sword. Why see- keft

keft thou againe to vsurpe the sword which thou wast
 commaunded to put vp into the scabard? Which sword
 for al that, who soeuer denieth to apperteine to the;
 seemeth to me not to marke the word of our Lord,
 thus speaking: *Returne thy sword into his scabard.* Ther-
 fore euen the sword is thine, at thy becke perhaps to
 be drawen, though not by thine owne hād; for other-
 wise, if it should no way belong vnto the, when the
 Apostles said to Christ, *Loe; tuuo swordes here:* he
 would not haue answered them, that it was inough,
 but that it had bene to much. Therefore, both the
 swordes belong to the Church; the spiritual, and ma-
 terial. But the material is to be vsed for the Church,
 the other by the Church. The spiritual by the hand of
 the Priest, the other by the hand of the souldiar and
 commaundement of the Emperour, but at the Priestes
 * appointment. So farre this holie Father in the verie
 place alleaged by the aduersarie.

*How both
 swordes be-
 long vnto ho-
 ly Church.*

* *Num.*

Wherby we see; that though it be not alwaies co-
 melie nor commendable for Priestes, which should
 be the authors and persuaders of peace to al Princes
 and people, to be giuen to blood, warres and destru-
 ction (especiallie by their owne handes); or without
 great cause to vse external force and violence against
 offenders: yet the sword may be drawen for their de-
 fence, and is to be drawen according to their counsel
 and direction.

Wherunto we adde further that though the Apo-
 stles were taught and counceled Euāgelical meeknes
 by that metaphore of putting vp the swordes; & had
 prescribed to thē a sweeter forme of gouerning their
 flocke, then the heathen, or other temporal powers
 vse towards their subiectes: yet al temporal or cor-
 poral punishment was not therbie prohibited to the
 rulers of the Church. As we see by the example of
S. Peter him self; who after the said prohibition, did not

*Al tēporal
 & corporal
 punishmēt
 not forbid-
 den to the
 Apostles
 and their
 successors.*

Bern. ep.
238.

onlie feede with the word; but stroke also corporal-
lie euen to death, *Ananias* and *Saphira*. Which as he
might doe lafullie by miracle: so his successours now
may doe the like by ordinarie iustice. Which example
we vse the rather, for that the said *S. Bernard* vseth it
for proof of the very same matter, when he saith. *Qui*
locum Petri tenet, potest uno ictu extinguere Ananiam; uno,
Simonem Magum. He that occupieth *S. Peters* roome,
may with a word destroy *Ananias*; and at one word,
extinguish *Simon Magus*.

And the next epistle before that, speaking also to
Eugenius the Pope, he saith thus: *Ad hoc enim constitu-*
tus es super gentes & regna, ut euellas & destruas; ut edi-
fices & plantes: for that end art thou constituted ouer
nations and kingdomes; that thou maiest plucke vp &
build and plant &c. Wherin, as in other execution of
iustice, though the Pope as a mortal man may some-
times doe thinges out of season, and without good
succes; euen the, when the cause he would aduance
is most godlie and laful (as we read in the first of
the *Machabees* of the Priestes infortunate fight against
the heathen): yet to make this a general rule (as this
Libeller doth) that the Pope may no wayes vse the
sword for defence of iustice or religion, is most false
and absurd.

The true
way
which the
Libeller
should haue
vsed, for
improving
the Popes
actions in
Ireland.

The true way of defence for English protestantes
in this case touching the warres of *Ireland*; and for im-
pugnation of the Pope concerning his allowing or as-
sisting the same; should be (in mine opinion) not to
affirme absolutelie (as our fond & most ignorant Li-
beller doth) that the Pope may no way fight or
take armes at al; (for that is against a knowen truth;
and not onely we, but al Catholiques in the world wil
therin stand against him): but rather for condemna-
tion of his Holines actions, to proue that his cause was
not iust; her Maiesty not to stand rightelie excom-
muni-

municate; not any way to be an Heretique, as *Pius Quintus* declared; and consequentlie her subiectes in no case to remaine absolued from their othe and obedience: of which pointes we may not at al dispute; seing our defence is onlie general, that the Pope may in some cases excommunicate; for some causes depriue; and in many respectes fight, and wage warre for Religion.

And it may be thought that the Protestants would neuer denie this, but in regard of their owne particular interest in some priuate case only. For they wil not affirme, neither doth it displease them (as we thinke) that *Pius Quintus* the last Pope was an Author of the late league and warres against the Turke; and had also his Captaines and banners displayed, in that renowned battail against him, by the same. Against whos armes, the Turke notwithstanding might as wel haue alleaged the Scriptures as now our Protestantes doe, to make him put vp his sword. For in truth if it be laulful for him to occupie his forces which God hath giuen him, against the heathen, that be no way vnder his iurisdiction: much more may he employ them against thes whom he accompteth as Rebels to the Church, which be properlie vnder his correction: first, in respect of their soules; and then secundarilie, of their temporal goodes; so farre as is requisite to their soules good.

Al which is most true, euen in consideration of his Priestlie and *Apostolical* function onelie; as is plane in *Phinees*, whos priesthood was established vpon his zealous pursuing the enemies of God to death with his owne hand. But further marking that the high Priestes of Godes people haue bene lightlie in al ages temporal Princes also, and iudges of the world, not onlie in spiritual but in worldlie affaires too: ther can no doubt remaine, but they may vse their forces tem-

*The Popes
warre a-
gainst the
Turke.*

poral to the maintenance of iustice.

Gen. 14.
Hebr. 7.

In quæst.
Hebrai.
Priestes
may make
warres for
iust occasios.

Melchisedech the samplare of our new preisthood, was both a Priest and a King; and alwaies in the lawe of nature, the eldest of the principal stockes, were both Kinges and high Preistes; as *S. Hierome* witnesseth. So is it plane that *Noe*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Iacob* and the like, had the rule spiritual and temporal ouer their families and people. And so likewise in the lawe, *Moyse* was both the highe temporal officer, and also a cheefe Preist. *Hely* iudged not onelie in temporal, but spiritual causes fortie yeares together. Finallie; the *Machabees*, *Iudas*, *Ionathas*, *Simeon*, and others, were both godlie high Preistes, wise iudges in politique, and valiant captaines in martial affaires. Euen so; the cheefe Bishops of Christes Church, our supreme Bishops in earth, by Gods prouidence and by the grauntes of our first most christian Emperours and kinges, and by the humble and zelous deuotion of the faithful Princes and people afterward; haue their temporal states, dominions and patrimonies, wherby they most iustlie hould and possesse the same, and are therby laufull Princes temporal, and may most rightfullie by their soueraintie, make warres in their owne or other mens iust quarel, as occasion shal vrge them therunto.

The Popes
temporal
iurisdiction
most law-
ful and fir-
me.

And whatsoeuer the enemies of Gods Church and *Sea Apostolique* doe barke or blaspheme against the Popes high preeminence in thes thinges (as they doe no lesse in deed against al spiritual Soueraintie) their is no King nor man in Christendome, that hath better title to his state, or so manie yeares of prescription for rightful possession; or so long and sure protection frō God, in such infinite mutabilitie of states and kingdomes; or such great likelihood of cōstancy and continuance, as hath the temporal state of the *Sea Apostolique*. For, as for the spiritual function and power therof, it shal not faile til the day of iudgemēt:

NEWOT

though (to vse *S. Augustines* wordes) Heretiques neuer cease to bay and barke on euerie hand round about it. Li. de vtil. credendi.

And as the humane succours of temporal thinges be often necessarie for the Churches peaceable regiment, and the dooble honor due to the cheefe Pastors of our soules; so the free gift of such thinges by deuout Princes and people, is maruelouslie commended in the example of *Barnabas* and others: who of deuotion sould their landes & goodes, and dedicated the price therof to Gods Church by the disposition of the *Apostles*, humbly laying the same doune at their feete. As on the other side, the prophane persons that disdain such honours and liuelihoodes of the Church, and seeke to defraud her of the same, may be warned by the terrible death of *Ananias* and *Saphira*, which they suffred by *S. Peters* word, for their like sacrilegious fact & conceipt. For if thes were thought worthis to be thus excommunicated (seing it was an excommunication according to *S. Augustines* iudgemēt) and withal were so extremlie punished corporallie, for withholding (vpon pretence perhaps of a litle better consideration of their necessitie to come) a peece onely of that which they promised to God before, in the Churches behalf, and yet was not actuallie bestowed: How much more doe they deserue excommunication and death, or rather damnation perpetual, that endeavour to spoile the Mother and Mistres of al Churches in the world of her prerogatiue and patrimonie: and sacrilegiousslie to robbe her not of some part of their owne giftes; but of al that by the deuotiō of others, the first and most faithful Princes, hath bene for the honour of Christ and his cheefe Apostle, with great alacrity and good wil bestowed that way? The which almes and patrimony dispensed by the godly prudence and charitie of the Apostolique Bishops re-

Lib. 3. c. 2.
1. cont.
Parmeni.

doundeth more to the auaille of Gods Church and the poore therof; to Christes honour, and to the benefite of al Christianitie; (be it spoken without comparison & to the honour of God alone) the anie temporal Princes patrimony liuīg: though many of their worldly habilities be farre greater, the any Popes are or euer haue bene. Which euery indifferent man, that behouldeth the immortal workes of Charitie which this one blessed Pope hath done in the dayes of his high Priesthood, must of necessity confesse.

The seditious practise of this Libeller.

Wherof we thought meet to make some mention in this place; for that both other Protestantes are not ashamed to accuse the *Holie Sea* of Robberie and rapine in getting and houlding the temporal state which now it hath so manie ages occupied to the great honour of God: as also, for that this Libeller oftē glaunceth at some iniuries, which he pretendeth to haue bene done, by the Popes tirānous & excessiue power, as he termeth it, to the Princes of the world ī this case: sometimes seditiously and subtellie suggesting to the Emperour and other the greatest and best Kinges of Christendome, to abridge his power: sometimes craftelie commending them, vpon a deuilish and deceitful fiction of his owne, that they onely tollerate his title and iurisdiction for a time and of pollicie, so farre as they see it is not preiudicial to their owne states; otherwise nether caring for his curses, excommunications, canons, nor commaundements, no more the the protestāt Princes doe; who haue withdrawen from him in their states, al, both temporal emolumentes, and spiritual prerogatiues.

Of which restraint, limitation, or plaine contempt of the Popes power and censures, the writer alleageth certaine examples of diuers Catholique Kinges and Countries; that the English may seeme to haue done no new thing, in this their shameful reuolt from the

Sea Apostolique, and contempt of the Ecclesiastical curse and excommunication. Which this prophane *Atheist* affirmeth none but the simple people to feare or care for; wise men & Princes to haue no scruple or conscience at al in such matters, but to resist by armes al lawes and ordinances as they list.

For prooffe whereof he bringeth (to no purpose) how diuers kinges of *Fraunce* haue by their lawes pragmatiques restrained the Popes of diuers claimes, prerogatiues, and profits: How they in *England* in old time limited and abridged his iurisdiction by the law specially called *Pramuniri*: How the noble Emperour *Charles* the fift, feared not their curses, when by his Captaines he beseiged, tooke, and sacked *Rome*; imprisoned and ransomed the Pope himself: How his sonne the King Catholique now rainging, nothing respected excommunicatiō, when his armie was led before *Rome* walles, by the conduction of the Duke of *Alua*: How King *Henrie* the seuenth resisted the Pope in a matter of *Alume*: and his neece Queene *Marie* her self (as much as she was deuoted to the *Romane* religiō) withstood him in the fauour of her cosin *Cardinal Poole*, against doctor *Peyto* about a *Cardinals Hat*; the bringer of which hat, and the *Bulls* for the said *Peyto* she did forbid to enter the Realme, commanding the to be staied at *Calles*: and finally, that *Cardinal Poole* himself hauing the Queene for him in the cause, had no feare to disobey the Popes commaundementes, and his threatned excommunications or curses; but continued Legate, and made the other poore *Peyto* being an obseruant frier, to goe a begging stil. Thus much in sense saith the *Libeller* in defence of their resistance of the Pope, and contempt of his Censures.

But looke attentiuely into the particular reasons and examples of this his discours, and you shal find nothing but fraude and falshood. First; it is a most im-

*Touching
Catholique
Princes re-
straint of
the Popes
iurisdiction*

*The an-
swer to the
examples al-
leged.*

pious and godles conceipt that the Emperour, and other great Kinges and Potentates of Christendome ether of old or at this present, haue suffred or doe yet endure the Pope to command or haue iurisdiction in their countries, onely for some respectes in policie, and so farre as they list, rather then vppon conscience and for religion: when it is certaine that his spiritual authoritie, and high Prelacie ouer al faithful Princes and people (as instituted by Christ, clearlie deduced out of the Scriptures, approued by decrees of ancient Councils, testimonies of al the old Doctors, and by both imperial and national lawes of the Christian world) is acknowledged in conscience of al Catholique Kinges that haue bene, or yet be within the happy vnite of holie Church. And it is a most shameles slaunder of their sacred Maiesties, that this *Atheist* would make the world beleue; that pretending conscience, deuotion, religion, and sinceritie in their obedience to the *Sea Apostolique*, they doe al in deed of policie. As wel might this *Machinilian* beare men in hand that the Christian religion is no otherwise admitted in Common-weales, but so farre forth, as it serueth for pollicie, and the aduancement of the Prince or temporal state. And God graunt this be not the marke that our Protestantes and Politiques shoot at: much it is to be feared that it is our English elne and analogie of Faith for measure of al actions. And certes to no other end they vse their pretended Ministerie, & new cleargie of their creation, occupying them to intertaine and amase the people *VVith the vvord of the Lord*; whilest they accomplish their worldly and wicked intentions: as apparant it is that the good author of this Libel, would not, if he were a Prince, (as such be to neare Princes elbowes thes dayes) admit ether *Peter, Paul*, or *Christ* him self, into anie iurisdiction ether spiritual or temporal within his Realme; nor would

be depriued or excommunicated by anie of the, more then now by the Pope; nor further deale with them, then his aduantage and policie requireth.

And indeed by the meanes of such *Lycurgians* as this, we haue in *England* new lawes against al claime of iurisdiction spiritual or temporal, that can be made by anie person whosoever, borne out of the Realme. Which (no question) might exclude Christ and his Apostles no lesse then their successours, being as wel forreiners as they. Wherin it seemeth singularlie to be noted; that this craftie Politique putteth no difference, betwixt spiritual regiment and temporal; yea rather taketh away al ecclesiastical iurisdiction: calling, in this his pestiferous Libel (which you shal not as we thinke read in anie other of the Heretiques writiges of thes dayes) the Queenes spiritual power, which she chalengeth against the Popes supremacie, her **REGALITIE**: seeking by al meanes possible, wholie to extinguish the *Hierarchie* and Prelacie of Christes Church; and concluding al in Kinglie authoritie. Wherby, as also by the Scriptures which they foolishlie in the sight of wise men, but to the simple perswasible alleage; *That al men must obey the King as the Cheefe or precellent*: they exclude *Peter* fro his high spiritual function, which he had in the time of *Nero*; and giue vnto the said *Nero* as his regalitie, no lesse then now they yeeld, both Papal and al other Bishoplie & Ecclesiastical authoritie in England to the Queene, as a peece of her *Regalitie*.

As though ther were no difference betwene a King and a Priest? As though ther were no distinction betwixt Christes bodie mystical, and a body politique or humane Common-wealth? As though Christ had giuen his said bodie, spouse, and spiritual Common-wealth, to be gouerned, ether vnto Kinges and Emperours (who were then and some hundreth yeares

The Machinilian drift of this Libeller.

The Q.
REGALITIE.

The temporal & spiritual authoritie confounded by the Libeller.

afterward, persecutours of his Church and Faith and yet had as large, whole, and perfect *Regalitie*, as anie faithful Prince hath): or vnto Christian Kinges afterward, who are (by receauing Christes sweet yoke & Faith) made children and members of the Church, & not Heades therof? As though our Sauour had not in his time appointed special officers for the regiment of his Church? or the holie-Ghost afterward not placed *Apostles, Prelates, Pastors, and Doctors*, to gouerne the same euen to the end of the world?

This deuilish confusion of thinges, and attributing
The way al spiritual Soueraintie to the temporal Prince and
to Anti- power, which the Scripture calleth for distinctiō sake;
christ. *Humanam creaturam*: or rather this turning al Prelacie
 1. Pet. 2. into Regalitie, (if it be permitted) wil take away the
Antichrists verie life and essence of the Church of God, and of al
Regalitie. religiō; and wil plane the way to *Antichrist*; who shal
 by the title of his only *Regalitie*, destroy (if it be possi-
 ble) al power spiritual and temporal, and set him self
 to be adored aboue what-soeuer is named in heauen
 or earth.

Woe be to our Nation and to the sinnes of our peo-
 ple; which God hath suffred to be the first example of
 this abominable conuerting of the spiritual power
 and regiment of our soules, into our Kings *Regalitie*.
 And Fye on this godles Libeller and his prophane in-
 tentiō; that by the defence of this special turpitude
 of our Kinges and Countrie, so foulie slaundersh al-
 so other most godlie Princes, with his shameful sur-
 mise, that they doe but permit in their dominions, the
 Popes authoritie of polieie, and no further then is for
 their aduantage. Whos impudent calumniatiō may
 easily be refuted, by their Maiesties zealous deuotiō,
 and most sincere obedience to his Holines in al mat-
 ters of Faith and Religion (wherin his Superioritie
 speciallie and properlie consisteth); by their dailie
 Roial

How fouly
Catholique
Princes are
slaundersh
by this sha-
meles Li-
beller.

Royal offices done against Heretiques for defence of the *Romane Sea and Faith*: and by open profession of the same, both in their liues and deathes; by their continual resistance of the enimies therof, to their infinite charge; yea and often to the hazard of their persons, crownes, & dominions: by the due obseruation of the holie decrees of the *Sea Apostolique*, as farre as the great loosnes of this time, and the manifold importunity of *Heretiques* and *Atheists* wil permit; by exact iustice done in many of their kingdomes, vpon the rebels of the Church & holy Sea; and finally, by their continual intelligence with his Holines, in al their affaires of Conscience & Religion; and the vse of al his spiritual Graces, Indulgences, and Benedictions with as great humilitie, as the poorest Catholique man in the world.

But the aduersarie telleth vs for al this, that diuers Princes and Countries before named, haue abridged, limited, and resisted the Popes doinges and authority. To which we say; that in such cases we should not stand alwaies vpon examples, but rather on reason and lawe. For a man might say, that *Herode* killed *Iohn Baptist*; *Philip* made away *Babylas*; *Theodosius* banished *S. Chrysostome*; *Constance* persecuted *Athanasius*; king *Henrie of England* caused to be murdered his Primat and holy Metropolitane *Thomas of Canterburie*; & manie moe haue resisted the Bishops and Pastours of their owne soules: wherof diuers haue bene sorie, and sore repented their iniquitie afterwardes, as our said *Henrie* the second amongst other. Whos exāples may not be made a rule how kinges should behaue them selues towards their Prelates. God forbid! No more in this other kind we now speake of, need we to allowe al the *Pragmatiques*, *Pramunires*, or other National decrees and prouisions which euerie particular Prince hath made, or may make (though in con-

*Al exam-
ples are not
to be stood
vpon.*

science Catholique) by which the Popes iurisdiction and preeminences in some sort and in some cases are abridged and limited.

As on the other side againe, we nether need nor wil condemne the same; because they be not of thinges mere spiritual, but ether plane temporal or mixt; such as had ether by the Princes lawes, or custome of Contries, bene graunted of deuotion to the *Sea Apostolique* before; and afterward vpon farder consideration, by the difference of times, or of lesse deuotion, reuoked vpon pretence of preseruacion of the temporal state, and benefiting particular Prouinces; vnto which, the emolumentes and large priuileges yeelded before to the cheefe Bishop and other of the cleargie, might seeme some hinderance: Or els, were of that nature that the supreme Bishop might indeed of reason chalenge, as thinges incident to his high office, and requisite for the better administration of the same: but yet not such for al that, as were necessarilie or by diuine lawes appertaining directlie to his spiritual regiment and iurisdiction; and therefore might by his wisdom ether be tollerated (as manie thinges in this case be which he alloweth not) for auoiding of scandales, or for other detriment of soules: or by composition (for the better reteining Princes and prouinces in ecclesiastical peace) be condescended and agreed vnto: the limitation or imminution of his accidental rightes, honours, and preeminences, nothing esteemed so material vnto him, as the saluation and preseruacion of kingdomes and Contries, in the vnitie of Christes faith and Church.

The Pope may yeeld his humane prerogatiues, but not in his spiritual.

Ther is no humane prerogatiue be it houlden neuer so rightlie, or giuen neuer so iustlie for the honour of Christ and his high office, but he may ether himself for iust causes yeeld it vp; or by violence ether of persecutours, or carnal and wordlie persons be berea-
ued

ued therof. Onelie his preeminence & Prelacie ouer our soules and ouer al Christian Countries and persons, be they publique or priuate; and whatsoeuer our Sauour graunted to the Prince of the Apostles (vpon whom he builded his whole Church and to whom and to his successours he gaue the keyes of Heauen; with ful commission to bind, loose, punish, pardon, feede, confirme in fayth, decide, and determine, &c.) this he can not yeeld; this can no earthlie power take frō him; this doth no Catholique King or Countrie restraine him of; nether euer were ther anie lawes made in *Fraunce*, *Spaine*, or in our owne Countrie (so long as it was Catholique) for abbridging his Apostolical & mere spiritual authority ī the premisses.

Though otherwise, as it falleth out in a mans owne person, wherein (as the Apostle writeth and as we al feelee) the flesh resisteth the spirit, and contrariwise the spirit the flesh; eche one of them seeking after a sort, to enlarge his owne limites and commodities, by some hinderance of the other; (which combat & conflict notwithstanding, is ether tollerable or not damnable; so long as the inferiour, which is the flesh, by ouer greedie appetite of her owne aduancement, destroieth not the superiour, which is the soule): So doubtles in a Christian Common-wealth, the spiritual and temporal state being ioined together as it were in one bodie, must needes keepe some moderate strife and combat for maintenance of ether of their limites in external regiment; which may be borne withal of eche side, so long as nether part seeketh ouer obstinatelie the destruction of the other, but doe agree and conioine in preservation of the principal.

But where the bodie politique (as it is now in our miserable Countrie) by intollerable disorder doth striue not so much, with the *Sea Apostolique*, and bo-

*The cōten-
tion betwē
the spirit
and the
flesh how
far tolle-
rable.*

*The intol-
lerable pro-
ceeding of
England.*

die mistical of Christ, for thinges ether indifferent or not merlie necessarie to the spiritual regiment; but by euident rape and violence, against the lawes of God & man, bereaueth Christes Vicar, of his whole soueraintie, high Preisthood and Prelacie; and the Catholique Church of al the rightes & douries, which our Master her spouse endowed her withal; and tirānicallie draweth al to the Princes REGALITIE altering by the authoritie therof, the whole faith and true worship of God, into abhominable *Apostacie*, *Scisme*, and desolation: ther the Libeller can find no example in anie Christian Lawes or Countries through out the world in any age to proue his purpose; though vaine and impertinentlie he alleage thes Concordates of *Fraunce*, & other Nations; as also the compositions of *England* with the Pope, or what orders and lawes soeuer besides, ether lauful or vnlauful concerning restraint of any Papal or Ecclesiastical power: which serue nothing at al for defence of the late English general and most impudent reuolt from the vnitie of Gods Catholique and Apostolique Church.

Some vncō-
scionable
lawes
might passe
in a Catho-
lique time.

Manie things might the wordlinges of our Countrie euen in Catholique times attempt for their owne aduantage, against the commodities of the Church. Our Kinges & other, in times of dissention with certaine Popes of their dayes, might driue the weaker to vnequal conditions, and serue their owne ambitious humours, to the Churches disaduantage. Some lawes might also passe by the powerablenes of Princes in their owne dominions, the Sea Apostolique vtterlie reclaiming against them; which though they were not directlie against anie point of Faith or Religion, yet might be verie preiudicial to the state ecclesiastical and liberties of holie Church: as the lawe of *Premuniri* was, which is mentioned by the aduersarie. Against which, diuers Popes (speciallie *Gregorie* the eleuenth

eleuenth and *Martin* the fift) opposed them selues earnestlie; and dealt with *K. Edward* the thrid and *Henrie* the sixt for abrogating the same: which they both promised to doe, but neuer did; and cōsequētly, it remaineth stil in his first vncōcionable force (if the makers had any such meaning as their folowers haue found out): for that it may by calumnious interpretation, be vsed at the onlie pleasure of the Prince, to the confiscation of al Church-mens goodes; imprisonment of their persons; & destruction of the whole Cleargie: wherof king *Henrie* the eight, in the beginning of his Scisme, gaue an horrible example. Which iniquitie, the Libeller him self is not ashamed to commend, and to propound to other Princes for imitation.

*The lawv
of Premu-
iuri.*

Thes iniustices and the like may be by some Kings committed; and are (as we haue said) for peace and Charities sake borne by thē; who are taught by their Maister and by the Apostolical Bishops of the primitive Church, to set more by one soule, then by al the honours, goods & priuileges in the world otherwise. So that God be honored, whether causes at the first instance, or by appeale onelie be differred to the Court of *Rome*, or no; whether the Pope, Prince, Cleargie, or people, appoint the Pastours, or no; (a thing diuerslie vsed in diuers ages): the Church can beare al, and turne al to good; so long as the true Faith and substance of Ecclesiastical iurisdiction be not destroyed.

Wherin yet this may be comfortable to al obedient children of the Church, and worthie to be considered of discret persons: that in al, or surelie in most part of such limitations, restraints, diminishinges, or alteration of the Popes & Churches authoritie; thinges haue afterwarde so fallen out, that wise men hartilie wish no change euer had bene made. And for the cui-

*Ecclesiasti-
cal re-
straints
haue not
proued so
profitable.*

dence therof, we referre al men to the pondering of this one point speciallie amongst manie; concerning the nominations and elections of Bishopes, Abbots, and other Prelates; whether the world wēt not as wel when such thinges passed by canonical election, or the Popes prouision; as it hath done since, or hereafter euer is like to doe. At the beginning of such alterations, men pretended reasons, for the particular Churches commodities of sondrie Nations: which a few yeares experience, and the euent of thinges, haue in most matters controuled.

Barbarous
malice of
English
Heretiques
against the
Sea Apo-
stolique.

The grosse-
ness of the
Libeller.

But were it wel or euil; it can nether be example nor warrant, to our present Contrie, to destroy Abbeis; kil the religious; murder Gods Priestes; imprison al the sacred persons of Bishops through out the Realme; to hate, blaspheme, abolish al authoritie and iurisdiction Apostolical: yea and to make a solemne publique prayer in the litanie, *That God would deliuer our Country from the Pope*; in stead of that which the whole Christian world deuoutlie singeth, and saith daylie, *Vt Dominum Apostolicum & omnes ecclesiasticos ordines in sancta religione conseruare digneris*. Would anie man thinke that ether they should fall to such barbarousnes, or to such impudencie, as to defend so grosse impietie, by the examples of other Catholique Kinges, Contries and times, in the cases aforesaid?

Or can it be possible they could imagine the difference betwene *K. Henrie the vij* and the *Pope* that then was, about a matter of Alume; should warrant her Maiesty that now is, or her Councillours, to stand against the high Priest of God, and to goe to lawe with him for his spiritual Prelacie? What a Grosse-head is this Libeller; or rather what a deceitful person (for he can not be so rude as not to knowe the difference of thinges so farre distant) that alleageth the warres sometimes fallen out betwixt certaine Popes

Popes and Princes about their temporal interests, to proue that Catholique kinges care not for the Pope? or that them selues may resist him by armes, and contemne his authoritie in matters of Faith & Religion?

Wherin his exāples also are very euil chosen, when he goeth about to make vs beleue, that *Charles* the fift cared not for the Popes Excommunication and Curse; because his souldiars vnder the conduction of *Burbon*, committed horrible violence and vilanie in the Citie of Rome, against his Holines, the Cardinals, and al other whom they found ther as their pray. Wher in deed the said noble Emperour, though then verie yōg, yet was nether cōsenting therunto nor had anie knowledge of the disorder, til it was done, purging him self therof afterward to the Pope verie humble: and the said *Burbon* author of that wicked enterprise, by Gods mightie hand and iudgement, and for a signe how highlie that impious fact displeased his diuine Maiestie; was slaīne sodenlie, and as it is thought, the first of al other vpon the wal of the suburbs. Let al thos that take such examples, take heed of the like endes.

*The sac-
king of Ro-
me by the
Duke of
Burbon.*

As for the loialtie of the most Catholique King, that now is of *Spaine*, to the *Sea Apostolique*; notwithstanding what temporal differences soeuer haue fallen, or may fal out betwene them; it were to much idlenes to stand vpon, against this fond wrangler. And the *Duke of Alua* his Maiesties general behaued him self euen at that time when he had his armie before *Rome*, (as wel of his owne singular deuotiō, as by his Kinges commaundement) most religiouslie and honorablie; without anie violence in the world, or damage to the Citie, other thē the waste of a few places of pleasure, vines, and orchardes about the wals: for which this good felowe with whō we deale, maketh much mone (as it seemeth); wher in deed he would rather haue

*Touching
the exāples
of K. Philip
and the
Duke of
Alua.*

wished the whole Citie bothe sacked and suncke for deuotion.

How the
Pope and
temporal
Princes may
contend in
armes.

But thes Princes (saith he) cared not for the Popes Curses, when they thus pursued their claimes both by armes and lawes. The truth is, that the Pope excommunicateth not euerie one, that ether resisteth him in temporal quarels, or matter of emolumentes of their peculiar Churches, or Countries, whether it be by lawes or armes: and therfore ther is no cause why in such cases, wher no censures are vsuallie published, this Libeller should say; *They regard no curses, nor anathematizinges &c.* Nether the also whē the iniurie done to holie Church or Apostolique sea, seemeth so euident to the Pope, that ther may appeare some reasonable cause of excommunicating the impugnors; & the parties so censured in the contrarie side, vpon perswasion of their right, doe persist notwithstanding in the defence therof; not then (I say) doe they contemne the censure (as is vntuelie conceaued by the aduersarie): but rather abstaining from the holie Sacramentes, and companie of such as to them by lawe are forbidden; doe vse humble meanes towardes his Holines, for his better information in the cause; and doe seeke that the matter may be ended by good order of composition, or arbitrament of other Princes and godly persons. Or if (in such causes of strife for worldlie commodities, where the temporal Prince may somerimes ether haue the right on his side; or seeme to him self in conscience, or by the iudgemēt of godlie, learned, and indifferent men to haue it) we graunt that he may without feare of Censures by armes or otherwise pursue his iust claime without impechement of his obedience in spiritual affaires: may therfore sacrilegious persons; as Heretiques, Apostataes, and open obstinate offendours, contemne at their pleasures, and violentlie resist the sentence of holie

holie Church; No, ther is no match in thes matters.

What if the late *Q. Marie* of England staied the messinger of the Pope, bringing a discharge of the late renouned *Cardinal Poole*, from his authoritie Le-
gantime; and a Cardinals hat for a person (though verie godlie) yet knowen to be vnfit; til his Holines might be better enformed of the man, & of the whole matter; as immediatlie he was, with al diligence and humilitie, by the said most deuout Princefle: should this be an example or encouragement to others, of plaine disobedience, and reuolt? or wholie to abandon the Popes authoritie, and to inuest a woman (which is against nature) in his Supremacie and spiritual charge, ouer al her subiectes soules? No surelie; no more then of reason it should haue serued her Maiesties Councel (sitting once in consultation together of the case) to denie entrance to the *Nuncio Apostolico* sent by *Pius quartus* about the third yeare of her Highnes raigne; to require and beseech her in God, to send some of her learned men to the general Councel of *Trent* then in hand, as most other great Potentates of Christiantie did; bringing with him a *Safe-conduct* for their peaceable passage, audience, and intertainment; notwithstanding their contrarie religion and faction.

The example of Q. Marie answered.

The Nuncio Apostolico that came to summon to the General Counsel, denied to enter Englad.

So did the English Counsel the make their aduantage of that vnlike fact of the late noble Queene; at once both to mainteine their vnlike seperation from the Christiā world and the felowship of other Catholique kinges; as also (and that perhaps especiallie) to couer the ignorance, feare, and insufficiencie of their Superintendentes; who though her Maiesty and others of the Nobilitie were wel inclined to send some of them for the honour of the Realme: yet for feare of burning (as they pretended) but indeed for feare of the Catholiques learning, and their owne shame,

The English Superintendentes afraid to goe to the Councel of Trent.

160 AN ANSWERE TO THE LIBEL
the good-felowes made al the sute vnder-hand they
could, that none might be inforced thither. And so
at length it was agreed; and moreouer, that his Ho-
lines Ambassadour should not so much as be heard, or
suffred to come within the Realme; vpon the warrant
(I say) of the forsaide vnlike example of the former
Queene Mary.

Which also serueth them further euer since, not
onely to renounce al the old authoritie, power,
and interest of the Sea Apostolique ouer our Coun-
trie; and to make the cheefe Bishop therof a mere
stranger, as other worldlie Princes of the Prouinces
about vs, that haue nothing to doe with our affaires;
(whos messingers yet and Ambassadours for needful
entercours and mutual intelligence by the lawe of
nations they willinglie admit, ether in peace or warres,
as occasion serueth): but also to make him a *Diuel*, an
Antichrist, and worse then the *Turke* him self; whos
messingers (as the world seeth) may haue audiēce with
them, and good correspondence; wheras the Pope
can haue none. Wherby is discovered the miserie of
wicked Heresie, and the extreme hatred that rebel-
lious children doe beare to their mother, whom they
vnhappilie haue forsaken, & obstinatelie resist to their
owne perdition. And this shalbe sufficient to shew
how wrongfully & vnreasonably this Libeller hath
sought to defend their English general reuolt
from the Church of *Rome*; and their contempt
of his Holines Censures, by the examples of
some Catholique Princes differences, &
wordlie debates with certaine Popes
& prelates of the same; vpon mat-
ter of far different nature and
qualitie from Faith
and Religion.

That

THAT THE SEPERATION OF THE PRINCE AND REALME FROM THE VNITIE *of the Church and Sea Apostolique, and fal from Catholique religion, is the onely cause of al the present feares and dāgers that the State seemeth to stand in. And that they vniustly attribute the same to the Popes Holines, or Catholiques; and vnruly cal them enimies of the Realme.*

CAP. VIII.



IEROBOAM for the better establishing of his Soueraintie ouer the ten tribes, thought it an high pollicie to deuide the temporal lot & partage, which by Gods appointemēt was fallen vnto him, from al communion & societie with the other

The vniuersal policie of Ieroboam.

remaining in *Iurie*, and seruing their Lord in the temple at *Hierusalem*. And therefore instituted for him self and his people strange Gods, new waies of worship, other vnordered base Priestes, and seueral places to serue in; and al vpon this humane imagination, that if his people at their sondrie appointed times, should goe vp to the Temple to doe their sacrifice and other rites according to the lawe; as also conuerse with the Priestes and people of the other partie, and be subiect to them in matters of conscience and religion as they were bound; that then they might easilie be induced or much tempted, to retorne to *Salomons* successours

L

in *Hierusalem* againe: and that his people being subiect to him onely in temporal matters, and not in religion, he might seeme to be but half a king; yea, as at this day our Protestantes (for flatterīg the person whom herby they wil ruine) vse often to say of our anciēt kinges of England and of other Catholique Countries abroad; that they were but half Kinges in their owne Realmes, if we compare their authorities with the ample regalitie of her Maiestie now reigning: whos iurisdiction extendeth aboue the old wont, to al causes spiritual no lesse then temporal.

Wel; so thought *Hieroboam* then, and so did he: and was (no doubt) most highly commended for the deuise by his Politiques that were about him. But yet this thing which was esteemed so prudently done, for preseruatiō of his state; was after as wel by the mouth of Gods Prophet, as by the miserable cuent of thinges, proued within a very few yeares, to be the onely destruction of his whole house, and perpetual calamitie of his people.

The wisdom of
worldlings
in the
end con-
founded.

The secular prudence of the children of this world compared to the true wisdom of the godlie, and resisting any way the cours of vertue and saluation, is found in fin alwaies deficient; and in truth, follie. But it neuer appeareth so weake, deceitful & pernicious, as when it opposeth it self to the ordinance of God; to the force of his spirit & truth; & to the Spouse, Kingdome and Priesthood of Christ. In which case the *Giantes* building of *Babel* preuailed not: the proposition of *Achitophel* was dashed: the purpose of *Herode* for murdering of Christ in his cradle, lest he should bereaue him of his crowne; and of the *Iewes* afterward in prosecuting his death to saue their state and Countrie from the *Romanes*, was turned to their owne destruction. *Saul* found how hard it was to spurne against the spurre. *Iulianus* cried out *Vicisti Galilee*: that is; Thou

is; Thou hast the victorie of me, mā of Galiley (so, that Apostata of contempt called Christ): and finally; true it wil euer proue, that their is no counsel against God, nor no long peace to anie that resist him.

And therfore thos Princes and people onelie to be happie both in this world and in the next, and their states alone lausful & durable, that haue learned faithfullie to submit their Scepters, to Christes sweet yoke; and to ioine their terrene kingdomes, with the Priesthood and Spouse of him, by whom al Kinges doe raigne; of whos Church it is said long sithence by the Prophet, and proued by the experience of all ages; that the Nation and People that serueth her not shal perish: who so euer heare & obey her not, must be accompted as Ethniques: who so euer despice her and her gouernours, despice Christ him self: who so euer refuse her regiment and superiority, specially for matter of Faith and Religion, and would rather haue a King ouer them to lead both their body and soules; doe not so much refuse to be ruled by Gods Priestes, as they reiect Christ him self, being not contented that he should raigne ouer them. Finallie; who so euer doe giue to *Cesar* that which is due to God, preposterouslie preferring the temporal prerogatiue of worldlie Princes before the spiritual power of the Priestes of the new Testament; directlie doe repine against Gods ordinance, and shal at length proue (with what humane prowes, power, or prudence so euer they susteine their factions) that they haue vneauenlie and vnaduisedly matched their combat.

The house they impugne is founded vpon an impregnable rocke: ther is no tempest of heathen, heretical, or domestical persecution; nor no stormes of wether or water that can ouerthrowe it: hel it self and the powers therof can not preuaile against it. And to the end that the *Nemroths* and other new euangelical

The calamities which ensue to them that oppose them selues against the Church.

The invincible rocke of the Roman Church.

Pfal.
Contra
partem
Donati.

Giantes of our Countrie mistake vs not, nor beguile them selues in their desperate contradiction against the Citie of God; *S. Augustine* telleth them, it is the Sea and succession of the *Church of Rome*, which is so inuincibly garded. Thes be his wordes. *Count the Priester from the verie Sea of PETER, and in that order of Fathers vvhho to vvhom hath succeded; that same is the rocke vvhich the proude gates of Hel doe not ouercome.*

The anciēt
Popes pre-
uailed a-
gainst the
anciēt Em-
perors.

The chosen corner stone of this building, is by the Prophetes and by Christes owne declaration such, as who so euer falleth vpon it shalbe broken; and on whom it falleth, it shal crush him in peeces. Not onely the Faith of *Peter* by our Lordes promis & protection, being infallible; but the Apostolique regimēt, by the assistance of the holie-Ghost, shal endure to the end of the world. Which hath alredy borne doune by her patience and constancie, al the heathen Emperours; against whom the high throne of Christes Priesthood in earth, and tribunal of Faith and religiō, was placed and preserued by the mightie arme of God, in the verie cheefe Citie and seat of their Empire for diuers hundreth yeares together after Christes ascensio; notwithstanding al the humane meanes of worldlie policie or tirannical crueltie, that could be deuised or exercised against them. Thos great Monarches, in that time more doubting and fearing the Popes in their pouertie, and persecution; and more loth to haue them in their owne Citie of Rome so neare them (if they could haue chosen); then anie other powerable competitour or emulatour of their Empire: as *S. Ciprian* saith of *Decius* the Emperour in regard of Pope *Cornelius*, who was therfore afterward (as al other his predeceffours before him) martired.

The Sea of
Rome hath
preuailed

By the same promis and like assistance of the Holie-Ghost the same *Sea* hath worne out al the old Heretiques, of farre greater power, pride, and learning, then

when the Protestantes be; sustained not onely by some particular Princes of certaine prouinces, but by diuers most mightie Emperours, persecuting the Catholique Bishops, Priestes and other, through the whole Romane world, as heuilie, as now some smaller Princes protestantes doe, within the boundes of their dominions onelie. The same *Sea* hath gone through al other distresses, forreine and domestical; standeth and flourisheth now (notwithstanding al the threates, molition and machination of her forsakers) in al vertue, strength, and glorie. Neuer more loued, honored and regarded of the Catholique Kinges in the world. Neuer more reuerēced and obeyed of the Churches children; neuer more feared of her forsakers. As we may see by the desperate and most obstinate cours they take, in our poore afflicted Countrie: not so much thinking to defend them-selues, by the dailie shedding of most innocent mens blood; as baselie to wreake their inqueſhable anger at the *Sea of Rome*, which they feare must be the instrument of Christes rodde of iustice towards them in time, for forsaking the fellowship therof, in Christian Faith and Religion. Them selues doubting that the stroke of this Excomunica- tion (so often reuiued by them selues) wil neuer in the ende fal voide (as otherwher we see it hath not) though by the flatterie of a few yeares good fortune, our men at home cry peace, sport, and securitie to the poore people; perswading them that al is wel & safe, by the killing of a few Priestes: when ther is no other way of sauing our beloued Countrie (assuredlie) from perdition both temporal and eternal, but by repētance and humble crauing pardon of Gods Church.

If they could kil al the Cleargie & true beleeuers in the world, & had the Popes owne person to doe their pleasure with him; or could make away as many Popes one after an other, as they haue done Priestes, and

against a
old Here-
tiques and
their Per-
secutions.

The inque-
shable rage
of England
against the
Sea of Ro-
me with
their feare
of the same.

as the first persecutours of our faith did martir: yet could they not preuaile nor escape the hand of God reuenging alwaies at length thes Contempts, Schismes, Heresies, and Apostasies, with memorable punishment. In warning wherof he geeueth vs a good admonition by his owne writ, when he saith. *Ne dix-
ris peccauit, et quid mihi accidit triste? Altissimus enim est pa-
tiens redditor.* Doe not say I haue sinned, and no misfor-
tune hath fallen vpon me for the same. For that God is a patiēt restorer or payer. So that God payeth home at length albeit with great patience; and then taketh the saying of S. Austen place, that he recompenseth his slownes with the greatnes of his punishment.

Eccle. 5.

God payeth
home at
length.

Plagues vpon
Heresie.

The peril of
diuers
kingdomes
by this
new He-
resie.

Into what desolatiō al *Afrique* was finally brought by the schisme and sect of the *Donatists*: how the Heresie of the *Arrians*, after the wearisome toile almost of the whole world for many yeares, discharged it self at length into *Machometisme*: how the diuision of the Oriental Church from the Sea of *Peter*, hath bene the losse of libertie, and the eternal destruction of so manie noble, most free, and flourishing Prouinces of that part; no man can be ignorāt. As also not see into what hazard and extreme perils, thes deuilish doctrines of our dayes, and the seditious folowers of the same, haue brought the glorious kingdome of *Fraunce*, with the states of *Flaunders*, *Germanie*, *Poole*, and most of the North partes of the world neere vnto vs. Which consideration draweth vs also into the doleful accompt, of our English present feares and miseries; and much more, to the foresight of our calamities to come: seeing clearlie by the recordes of our Countrie, that no Nation hath oftener susteined general alteration of the state and gouernment then ours: nor yet, euer anie violent change or mutation, but for some notable contempt of the house of God. As appeareth by the sondric inuasions and conquests made on vs; and

by the

ye by the notes which *Gildas* the wise, venerable *Bede*, and
 God other men of experience and foresight, haue in their
 his monumēts set doune; which were too long and need-
 pu les to rehearse.

Onelie this is euer to be borne in mind; that when
 our kinges of England had good intelligence with
 the Pope, and mutual offices of loue and honour pas-
 sed betwixt them; and our bodie politique and Ciuil
 magistrate, had al godlie and charitable correspon-
 dence with the spiritual Common-wealth of Christs
 Church, and the prelates therof: then had we a most
 happie and victorious Contrie, blessed of God with
 al spiritual and temporal benediction. In such sort
 surelie, that to remember onelie what grace and glo-
 rie our Realme hath receiued, by ioining and submit-
 ting it self to the lawes and regiment of holie Church,
 might make our hartes ioyful; if the consideration of
 this our present infelicitie, by seuering our selues
 from the same, did not eftsoons turne al to inconsola-
 ble sorowe.

Truelie what so euer is or hath bene singular to our
 Countries honour ether in Church, Citie, Vniuersi-
 tie, College, Schoole, Monasterie, Librarie, or anie
 part of the Common-wealth, not lest renouned in
 the world: al came of the Catholique religion; and
 the greatest part of the famous Prelates of our Natiō.

*The bene-
 fits & ho-
 nours of our
 Countrie by
 Catholique
 religion.*

As likewise what pietie, iustice, fidelitie, conscien-
 ce, deuotion, feare of God, peace, order, obedien-
 ce, truth and honestie was once in anie state of men;
 it can be referred to no other, but to the godlie disci-
 pline, forcible doctrine, and manifold graces of the
 Church and her holie Sacramentes: as on the con-
 trarie, the waste of al goodnes is now by manie yeares
 experience found, to proceed of the Protestantes, not
 onelie fruitles, but pernicious preachers and doctri-
 ne. Who by inuading the old honorable roomes of

Our misfe-
ries by He-
refie.

most noble Prelates (founded neither by them nor for them) haue made pitiful spoile of the goodliest ecclesiastical states and monumentes, almost in al Christendome. And by taking away the dailie dreadful Sacrifice, Confession, chastitie, fidelitie, obedience, humilitie, order, and al honestie of life and maners, haue giuen our people doleful experience, of the deadlie fruite of their schisme and reuolt from the Sea Apostolique, and Catholique communion of the faithful world.

Which we are forced to treat of here more largely, through the importunate and odious vaunting of this Libeller, concerning their felicitie & vnwonted prosperitie in *England*, since their breaking from the vnitie of the Church of *Rome*: speciallie sith the Queene (saith he) was cursed and excommunicated by the Pope, al matters haue gone luckelie. Not talking at al of the Realme, or peoples increase in religion, deuotion, conscience, fidelitie, honour, and honestie; fortherin the difference & decay from the old maners in al estates is too notorious and lamentable to behould. Neuer so much iniustice, neuer so much extortion, neuer so much theft, neuer so much pride, ebrietie, glottonie, riot, and al other sinne and abomination. But onelie (as though he knew no other world or heauen but this) he profanelie, and proudlie in sondrie places of his litle booke, maketh repetition of their good lucke in this life; of their abundance in wealth; of their long peace; of the fruitfulness of their feeldes euer since the Popes Curses. Much like to the irreligious Tirāt that neuer liked his lucke better, then after he had committed sacrilege, and robbed sacred thinges. So this triumphant Libeller braggeth; *That the Queene hath reigned as long as three Popes; five times as long as Queene Marie her sister; in such felicitie, that anie other Prince of Christendome*

Prophane
braggies
of the Li-
beller.

would

ould be glad to haue some peece of her good fortune.

Which tooto prophane and proud cogitations and comparifons of this writer, we wil not attribute to her Maiefty or to her prudent Councelours ; who haue yet more feeling and fense in fuch thinges, then to make fo much, of a few years moe or leffe reigne, and other terrene felicitie ; that either her Maiefty fhould pronounce of her felf (as furely fhe wil not) the wordes of that miftical woman of the Prophet Eſay; *I fit a Queene and vvidowve I am not, and mourning I fhall neuer fee.* Or that her wife Councellours fhould admire her happines for this thing, and fcond her with fuch applauſe as the people vſed to *Herode*, in the height of his arrogancie and proud propoſition: *Voces Dei, non hominis.* They are al to wiſe (I ſay) & ouer wel experienced to doe or ſay thus ; for they knowe the iudgementes of God incontinentlie folowing. They are not ignorant, that before ruine, the hart is exalted. They can not forget the variablenes and inſtancie of mortal thinges, with the ſodaine fal of verie fortunate perſons. They haue redde of *Policrates* king of Samos ; whos proſperitie being extraordinarie, he was by his frendes & ſpeciallie by the king of *Ægypt* aduiſed, to procure to him ſelf ſome greefe and alteration of fortune, leſt ſome memorable calamitie ſhould in the end enſue; as indeed ther did. Which exāple *S. Gregorie Nazianzen* thinketh in this caſe wor-thie to be remembred. They can not but eſteeme *S. Auſtens* iudgement of good credit in this matter; who thinketh that nothing is more dangerous or vnlucky to a Chriſtian, then to liue long in continual proſperity.

Wherfore, al this vanitie and triumphant flouriſh proceedeth only from the vaine of our Libeller; who is one of that popular ſtāpe which in the *Pſalme* bleſſed the people that had their barnes and butteries ful;

Cap. 47.

A. 12.

Prou. 16.

The vani-
tie & dan-
ger of conti-
nual pro-
ſperitie.The vani-
tie of the
Libeller.

Pſal. 143.

their sheepe pregnant, their cattle faire and fat, all void of ruine, care, and clamour: where Christian men must measure their matters otherwise, and say with the Prophet, *Beatus populus cuius Dominus Deus eius*; that people is happie whos Lord and master is God: without whom, and out of whos house (which is the Church) all humane felicitie, is but matter of more damnation; and truelie wher it is extraordinarie, euer a very sore signe of euerlasting perdition. Which we doe not say, for that we accompt not this terrene felicitie a great benefite of God oftentimes, as wel to priuate persons, as speciallie to Common wealthes: or that we reckon this few yeares prosperitie of our Contrie anie thing comparable to the constant honour and felicitie of our Forefathers dayes: but for that it maketh no certaine, nor often no probable prooffe of Gods fauour towards them that enioy the same, being lightlie common to good and euil; though of the two more ordinarie to the wicked and worser sort, then to the better; because *Lazarus* often receaueth euil in his life, as the gredie glotton doth the contrarie. Yet our Libeller thought it a good popular perswasion to the vulgar sort of men that haue fastened their eyes & hartes onelie on thes present delites & comodities, neuer thiking on the life to come.

But now we must goe further with this vaunter, and be bold to tel him, that our Countrie is in no such blessed state, as he would make the slier sort at home, or strangers abroad that feeble not our miseries, to beleue. For though a few persons in respect of the rest (not surelie the third man in the Realme, hauing giuen them selues to folow the present condition of thinges; and putting their conscience, reason, and religion to silence, to be partakers of the pleasures and commodities, which ther the world yeeldeth by the spoile of infinite Catholiques & honest innocent

men

Worldlie
prosperitie.

Luc 10.

The case is
examined,
whether
England be
now in
worldly
prosperitie
or no.

men of al sortes) are aduanced to riches and degree; and doe reckon their present state, a terrestrial Paradise, feeling their owne wealth and not regarding other mens woe: yet indeed knowing as we doe, that the farre greater part of our Countrie of al degrees are brought to ruine, miserie, or extreme danger and desolation, as wel them selues as their posteritie, for the raising of others vnto this pleasure plentie and felicitie which they haue now for some yeares enioyed; we must needs confesse and testifie, that the bodie of the Realme generallie, was neuer in such extreme miserie.

First and formost for the *Cleargie*; (which was, and is in truth wher soeuer it remaine, and ought to be in al Christian common-wealthes the first and principal order of honour; and in ours, for number, learning, wisdom, and excellencie of al kindes, inferiour to none in Europe) it is wholie destained and destroyed as the world knoweth: the cheefe Prelates, Bishops and others, al spoiled of their dignities and liuelihoodes, thrust into prisons, forced into banishment, til by manifold and long miseries they be almost al wasted and worne away. Thes then so manie, so notable, and so worthie; for whom, both God, nature, and their place of birth doe challenge a part of this so much praised prosperitie, feeble none of it: but for mere conscience and confession of that truth, which their holie predeceffours laid and left with them, *In depositum*; haue lost their terrene lot: & ether are dead, or haue passed so manie yeares in miserie, as the other good felowes their intruders haue liued in ioye and felicitie; who indeed are *Filij hominum, qui nubunt & nubuntur*; that is, certaine fleshlie companions, vnordered Apostataes, and contemptible ministers; who entering into the right and roomes of others, prouided not for them, doe thinke al faire wether in England; and haue good cause to like of the lucke of

The old
Catholique
Cleargie.

The new
Cleargie.

thes later yeares, which maketh true men mourne while such theeues be merie.

*Catholike
Schismatices
and
their miserie,*

*A pitiful
case.*

Secondelie; if we goe from Spiritualltie to Temporalltie, and doe make our consideration of al orders and degrees of men and of the whole corps and communaltie of the land; we shal find by reason, experience, and substantiall coniecture, that the whole being deuided into three partes, two of them are inclined to Catholique religiō in their hartes, and consequentlie are discontented with the present cōdition of thinges. Of which Catholiques, so manie as folowe the world, and dissemble their religion for feare of lawes; as they be (notwithstanding their dissimulation) manie waies known and discouered, mistrusted, doubted and hated of the Protestantes; and generallie kept vnder, iniured, disauthorised, and watchfullie overlooked; and therbie in continual miserie and discontentment: so also in respect of their owne consciences (being forced to sweare to such Articles of this new faith, & her Maiesties ecclesiastical *Regalitie*, as they assuredlie beleue to be most wicked, vntrue & impossible; as also to receiue such falsified Sacramentes, as they in their hartes condemne to the pit of hel, and knowe to be poison to their owne soules, and to their frendes who for companies sake doe receaue with them; and finallie being constrained to heare & hire such ministers, as daylie read, speake, and preach, nothing but blasphemie against Christes Vicar, Church, Sacramētes, Saintes & al Holies) they are inforced to liue, and (alas) oftē also to dye, in infinite distresse of mind and tormentes of Conscience, passing al other humane miseries. So as al thes haue litle part of this goodly ioye, wherof this Libeller speaketh; but doe liue in perpetual anguish, wishing sometimes (which we haue scene and heard) with manie a sigh and grone, that her Maiesty would be

be content with half their goodes, so that she would graunt them libertie but in secret sort, to haue the vse but of the holie Sacramentes; and sometimes lamenting their manifold infirmities, and impedimentes of wife and children; for whos only needful releefe, they continue in that damnable state of Scisme.

Now for the other zealous and sincere Catholiques, being maruelous manie throughout the whole Realme, and the number by Gods goodnes dailie encreasing (such we meane, as knowe it is not inough to saluation to beleue with hart; except, when occasion is giuen, they confesse with mouth; and that if they denie Christ before men, they shalbe refused of him before his Father):thes being no smal part of the lande; of the greatest calling, some; of honour, worship, wealth and substance, manie; the rest, of the honestest, orderliest, and best-beloued of the whole Countrie, tast not of the pleasures of this Libellers paradise; but haue passed thes yeares ī greater greefes, feares & miseries, the anie mās pen or tongue cā expresse: not the tēth part of their calamities, discovered by anie of our brethrens bookes, epistles, pictures, or complaintes.

*The true
and zealous
Catholiques.*

If our felowes in the Catholique faith through Christendome could conceaue that in hart, which thes Confessours doe in deed feele, and we often with our eyes behold: they would with infinite teares bewaile our case; and with dailie deuout praiers, procure Gods mercie towards vs, as we trust they doe. If they might see al the prisons, dongeons, fetters, stocks, racks that are through the Realme occupied and filled with Catholiques: if they might behold the maner of their arreignment euen among the vilest sort of malefactors: How manie haue bene by famine, ordure, and pestiferous ayers, pined away: How manie by most cruel death openlie dispatched: How manie haue suffred proscription and condemnation to

*The cruel
and barbarous
sufferings
of
Catholikes
in England.*

*Viz. in
Crounes.
222. and
odde.

*Viz. in
Crounes.
866. and
odde.

* Iohn
Westby of
Molbreck
Esquier,
was glad
to stand for
a whole
winters
day almost,
in a pitt in
water vp
to the eares:
and often
forced to
duck vnder
the water,
least he
should be
espied of the
persecu-
tors.

The misery
of the more
part now
in England.

perpetual prison: how manie haue bene spoiled, and otherwise greuouslie punished, by forfaiting to the Queene an * 100. Markes for euerie time they heare Masse: How manie gentlemen, and other persons of wealth are wholie vndone, by losing * *thirtene score poundes by the yeare* for not coming vnto the heretical seruice: How manie haue lost al their landes and goodes during life for flying out of the Countrie for their conscience sake: How manie of the most substantial, profitablest, and persons of greatest hospitalitie in diuers prouinces, are chased out of their owne howses; by spials, promotours and catchpols: How manie wander in place wher they are not knowē, driuen into wooddes, yea surelie into * waters, to saue them selues from the Heretiques crueltie: How manie godlie and honest married cooples most deare one to another, by the imprisonment, banishment, flight of ether partie, are pitifullie sondred: How manie families therby dissolued; into what pouertie, miserie, and mishap their children are driuen: what number therby runne ouer sea into most desperate warres and fortunes; or by better lucke and fortune goe to the seminaries or other seruice, to passe their time during their Parentes calamitie. And for such as be of the vulgar sort of honest husbandmen or artisans (of which condition innumerable be Catholiques i our Countrie) they beig not able to pay that impious Masse-Mulct, much lesse the forfeiture for not cōming to the Calvinistes preaches and seruice, are most cruellie and barbarouslie whipped in the open market places; as both els where, and speciallie of late a blessed number in the Citie of *Winchester* (most pitiful to behold) were so vsed. Others haue their eares cut of; others burnt through the eare; and others otherwise, of both sexes, contumeliousslie and flauishlie abused.

Thes then and a thousand moe which we need not

to rehearse, being the miseries of the better sort and bigger number of the Realme; and they falling vpon them for their fathers Faith, and no other crime in the world, committed ether against Prince or Countrie: (as the Libeller him self confesseth for the principal Cleargie, and for manie good subiectes of the laitie; who therfore, he sayeth, are not punished by anie capital paine; as though the losse of libertie, landes, dignities, grace and goods, were no punishment:) but thes calamities (we say) being common to our whole state of the Realme, and to the greatest part of the rest; shal we say the state is blessed? this regiment fortunate? al is peaceable and plentiful in England? Where indeed onelie a few newlie raised by other mens fal, are made happie by other mens infelicitie: and where a verie smal number, in comparison, haue deuided the wealth, honors, offices, and pleasures of the whole land among them selues: and doe menage the Countrie by their fauorits, to the discontentment, disgrace, and destruction of the iustest gentlemen in the same.

Now this condition and present fortune of certaine men, that haue by her Maiesties lenitie, and by alteration of the Catholique religion into Heresie, thus aduanced their particular; is by thes men, called the State: and their abundance, peace, and prosperitie; the happines of the whole Realme. Wher, the happines of a King & countrie is; the weale of the Subiectes, no lesse then of the Soueraine: and where wicked men (as Theues, Murderers, Heretiques, and others like) be in miserie and beare the paines of the lawes; and not wher Gods Priestes, the Churches children, and true Catholiques (for whos defence and protection both Kinges and al iust lawes are made) be in continual troble and vexation. To conclude then; the greatest and best part of our Countrie being in the ex-

*The true
happines of
a King.*

tremest worldlie miserie (besides the tormentes of conscience , which passe al other paine) that euer mē were in, sith Christianitie was founded; the aduersaries bragge of the English felicitie , is too vaine, fond and friuolous.

The universal infelicite of the English State by Heresy.

But going further with this *Politique*, or *Atheist* (whether yow wil) that measureth al by worldlie felicitie ; deeming the Popes *Anathema* or Curse to be voide towardes vs , or rather turned into blessing , by the good successe the Protestantes of our countrie haue had in al their life and doinges , since the publishing of the same : we wil set aside the miserie of so great numbers of particuler men named before , and presume for the clearer proceeding in this cause , that the present happines of some protestātes , were the peace and prosperitie of the whole Realme and state : and that being admitted ; yet we haue to tel the man , and shal proue it now in the sight of al indifferent people , that our Countrie and State is in the greatest miserie , most dangerous tearmes , that euer it was , sith or before the Conquest , and farre in worse case then anie Countrie of Christēdome : which notwithstanding (he saith) would wish anie peece of the English felicitie .

It were a hard matter to perswade this to a thriftles yonker , a vulgar reader , a common person , or such an one as brutishlie beholdeth and esteemeth the present pleasures or profits that he enioyeth with licentious libertie , aboue al that may fal to him or his , be it wealth , be it woe , afterward for euer : but to wise men , and speciallie to such as haue charge of Common weales , it is nothing difcil ; who if they knowe not of them selues (as lightlie they doe by the lawe of Nature) precepts of policie , and holie Scriptures : yet they may easilie be induced to consider , that the present peace and pleasure of a cōmon bodie or state , or the calme of a few yeares (if it be ether procured
or sup-

or supported by iniust and dishonorable meanes, or be ioined with euident perils, present or to come) is indeed no true prosperitie, nether in common, nor in particular: but rather a prognostication of Gods great plagues to come, and of the future miseries either to fall afterwarde, in our owne daies, or to our posteritie.

No weale-publique is happie without iustice, honour, & securitie. If our wealth be obtained by spoile or sacrilege, it is vniust. If our peace be mainteined by our neighbours warres, it is iniurious and dishonorable. If no respect be had for the continuance, securitie and stabilitie of this good fortune we seeme to be in, the ether we or our posteritie shal feelee as much woe, as we now doe ioye.

Of the reuolt from the *Sea Apostolique*, alteration of religiō, spoile of Churches and Cleargie (by which they made their entrie into this new blessednes) how iust and laufull it was, we wil not now stand vpon: nor shew what ignominious practises and plaguy iniustice they haue vsed to susteine the same, farre differing from the old royal dealinges of our Kinges & Countie; who ether by laufull open warres, or honorable leagues and assured amitie, procured their rest and peace.

To make the subiectes of *Scotland*, first; then of *Fraunce*; and last of al of *Flaunders*, and diuers other states, to rebel against their laufull Princes: to imprison some; to surprise the townes of others; to seaze vpon the money of others; to hazard the persons of others; to mainteine horrible ciuil garboiles in al the Countries neere vs, and against al their next neighbour Princes (with whom otherwise they pretend good amitie and intelligence): to be confederate with al the infamous Heretiques and Rebels of thes daies, yea surelie with the *Turke* him self: finallie; by sondrie

The dealinges of England vvith other Countries.

piracies, proditions, spieries and foule artes, to afflict and coosen the world round about vs; what conscience, honour, or equitie can be in this cours? None at all surelie. Nether can our peace and prosperitie, by such dishonorable and sinful meanes mainteined, euer be secure or durable; but alwaies ful of feare, danger and doubtfulnes, as wel to the authors of so foule and vnwonted proceedinges, as to the people: though the simplest of this latter sort auerted by the present peace and pleasure of a few yeares, can not espie their future miserie so easilie, as thos which hauing ledde both their Soueraigne and her Subiects by strange pathes into thes perplexities, are now them selues come, almost both to their wittes and to their worldes ende; hauing nether God to stand for them, whom they haue highlie offended by forsaking him & abolishing his holie seruice, honour and Sacramentes: nor anie Prince or state sure vnto them; euery of which they haue so notoriously annoied in the times of their distresses, that they can looke for no office of true friendship at their handes.

*Gods controule
ment of
English
practizes.*

In al which, God hath so wonderfully ouerrought their humane counsailes (that seemed to such as had no deepe insight in thinges present, nor much foresight or care of that was to come, to be ful wise and farre to excel the compas of our old Fathers, or anie forreiners at this day; and therefore our Nation, by the passing prudence of certaine Councillours, to stand in peace and ioye, wheal their neighbours about vs by their deuises were in misery): God him self (we say) hath so controuled thes wise follies, by the contrarie euent of euerie of their sinful deuises: that the world may see and wonder at Gods waies, and how different they be from mans cogitatio, and how farre the sound Councils of such as be trulie wise, differ from the present and pregnant wits, or desperate aduentures

ventures of such, as menage al matters, for their owne present and particular, without regard of the general ende or their owne posteritie.

See you not, how euen God him self hath defeated al their driftes in *Scotland*, and brought the matter by marueilous meanes of his prouidence, to the iust contrarie issue, of that which they shot at? Were not their endeuours euē so crost in *Fraunce*, in euerie of the three brethrēs kinges daies? Where they haue bene alwaies frustrate of their purposes, and lost both their vnthakful labours, and their money? To what end their intelligence with the rebellious states of *Flaunders*, or with the *Apostata of Colen* or other their correspondents wil come: they partelie perceaue, and may acknowledge therī (as al other wise mē doe) the mightie, iust, and prouident hand of God. When our Protestantes consider of thes thinges deeplie, and attend the issue of al their extraordinarie proceedinges, and as men out of al aime now and compasse of their intended cours, can goe no farther, without desperate ouerthrowe and hazard of al; what miserie they may be in, let wise men iudge: how so euer thē selues couer their perplexed cogitations from the vulgar sort, by telling them of faire wether, and of their plentie of corne and cattle, long reigne, and prosperitie of her Maiesty aboue al Popes and Princes of her daies. But the origine of al the former dishonorable & desperate plottes, and of the extreme feares and miseries, they manie wayes shew them selues to be in (and indeed are, notwithstanding the pretence of their prosperitie): is, their first fal from the God of their forefathers, and the alteration of Catholique religion into this *Caluinisme*, or *Atheisme*, by which our Realme hath so long perished. Though this Libeller and other English new writers (no wiser nor better then Children or Beares, that are offended with the rodde, stones, or

In Scotelād

In France.

In Flāders.

The secrea miserie of English Protestantes.

The true origine of English miseries.

staues, wherwith they be beaten, nether looking at the cause nor cheefe author of their punishment) attribute their troubles or apprehended feares to the excommunication, and to the godlie endeouours of Catholique Priestes, instructing the people, peaceable to their saluation.

And how much this forsaking of holie Church Faith and communion of al Christian people displeased God; and how vnwiselie it was done in respect of the temporal state, and safetie of our Prince & Countrey; the same Lord God hath in their owne daies, that were the authors therof, reuealed: as otherwise natural reason and experience (if they were neuer so voide of conscience and religion) might haue foretold the. But (alas) their owne particular aduancement, and infinite ambition, (which they thought should not haue so free cours, if the old state of religion had continued): ether brought them into error of iudgement (as it commonlie happeth); or els (which is no rare case nether) made the against their owne knowledge, folowe that which was so pernicious both temporallie and spirituallie.

Al mutations dangerous but especially of Religion.

For who could not see, though his iudgement, reason, or reading were neuer so smal, that al great alterations in Common weales are dangerous? Let but an attempt be made to change your temporal statutes, and national lawes into the ciuil lawes: change but your customes that now you be guided by, in manie things: change your forme of gouernment, which is now a Monarchie, into an other kind of regiment: what infinite broiles would it bring? But ther is no alteration so perilous, as of Religion; and of that Religiō which was planted by our first Apostles; receaued from the mother Church of Christendome; confirmed by miracles; approued by al the lawes, counsels, customes, and tribunals of the Church, for to be the only true worship

worship of God, and consonant to his sacred word & wil. What counsaile could be more dangerous in the world then this? They could not but thinke that the subiectes of the Realme, so manie of them being Catholique, so lateliereconciled to the Church, and by publique Ambassie, othe and promis to his Holines, aduowed neuer to fal againe into Schisme, could not but be much discontented. They could not but see what hart-sore it would be to al thos, that depended on the old honorable Cleargie, to behold the deprivation and imprisonment almost of the whole order; and an other fleshlie company intruded into their roomes, whom no man almost liked of, and sith are more and more taken and proued to be the filth of the land.

They were not ignorant that the Pope and *See Apostolique* (now the secōd time so contemptuouſlie forsaken) could ether of conscience or dutie to his flocke, or his owne honour, not vse one time or other the rodde of the Churches discipline, which is, Excommunication; against the offenders: which how so euer they thought by error of Religion they might contemne, & by power withstand; yet they could not be so farre ouerseene, that such Censures (by which manie a mans conscience at home might be perced, and of which anie forreine Prince abroad, as time and aduantage serued him, would perhaps make his profit) might not seeme to them verie like, to breed more troubles then were to be wished.

They looked not wel about them, if they foresawe not that their defection from the Pope, who is most dearlie cōfederated with al the Catholike and mightie Kinges of Christendome, might not breed a great alienation of their hartes from vs, and an occasion of much inconuenience and danger to our Countrie. Their wisdomes and experience of the diuers bloody

*The peril
by excommunication.*

*Considerations
against
change of
Religion in
England.*

conflictēs foughten in our Fathers dayes for religion in Zwicherland, and in our Countrie in *K. Henrie* the 8. and *K. Edward* the sixt late daies; and the doubtful euent of such thinges might haue forewarned them, of the like that might fal, and sithence haue fallen as wel in *England* as *Ireland*: where al the Countrie being in good wil Catholique, they might easilie perceaue with what a general torment of conscience, and danger of ciuil warre, the new Religion were to be enforced vpon them.

Feare is neuer a sure nor long keeper of his maister. And because no Prince ruleth his subiects so securelie by force and feare, as by loue and liking; how could they not conceaue, that al *Ireland* and a great peece of *England* was euer to be interteined in subiection, by power and plaine awe, & nothing by loue and sweetnes? And which is of more perilous sequele in this case, and ought most of al to haue bene by them foreseene, is; that the diuersitie of religion, ioined with the censure and sentence of the Sea Apostolique, may make such alteration in the opinions of manie (otherwise most loial subiectes) that diuers may seeme to obey onelie of feare and nothing of conscience. Which conscience of the subiectes (doubtles) is the onelie sure pillar of the Souerains estate.

They should haue foreseene how manie persons of honour and qualitie for freedome of conscience and other discontentmēt grounded on religion, were like to flie into forreine partes: who might by zeale or miserie be so irritated against the causes of their banishment and occupiers of their liuelihoodes, that their absence might proue dāgerous to their enemies state. Whom they can not repress by calling them Fugitiues, or such like names of vulgar reproch: for that terrified not the noble Prince *Henrie* the seuenth, grandfather to the *Queenes* Maiesty for pursuing the cruel

K. Henry
the 7.

Tirant

Tirant and vsurper *Richard* the third:whom he honorable (notwithstanding he was an annointed king, and in possessiō of the Realme)deposed of the croune.

They should haue made their accompt before alteration of religion, that ther would rise therby, implacable diuision among the subiectes, and pernicious difference betwixt the dearest frendes and neereft kinsfolkes: no dissention nor hatred being so capital and deadlie, as that which cometh of contrarietie in Faith and worship of God. And the vnitie of Christes Church being once broken, that the Protestantes them selues should be combred with infinity of sectes and opiniōs, pernicious to the state. Wherof no doubt they should haue receaued good prooffe and lamentable issue ere this, had not the heades as wel of the rulers, as of the Puritanes, Anabaptistes, Brethrē of loue and other sectes, bene so fullie and fearfullie attent vpon the Catholiques and their endeouours.

Dissentio in religion deadlie.

But the aduersarie telleth vs that they haue gone through al thes perils, and haue had so manie victories against what enimies soeuer, at home or abroad; and that therfore al was wiselie done and luckelie. To which we say, that if al proue wel in the end, it is better for them: and that it is not so properlie pertaining to prudence, to escape dangers when they fal (which good luck, fond men also sometimes haue by fortune) as to preuent and prouide, that no dangers fal; and to flie from such thinges, wherof euident perils must needes ensue.

But in this matter of Religion, God him self also hath checked their worldlie purposes and conceiptes maruelouslie. For wher they had thought by seueritie of such strāge lawes as were neuer made in anie common wealth heathen or Christian, by putting al the old Prelates into prison, and wearing them away, by yeelding al Churches, pulpites, schooles, offices,

The Heretiques expectatio de- ceaued about extinc- tio of the Catholique religion.

M 4

Exo. 8. 19.

Mat. 27.

64.

honours, and commodities, to men of their owne sect and creation; and by what other extremitie, policie, or diligence so euer, to haue in a few years extinguished the name and memorie of faith Catholique: they now yearlie and daylie find, the number, zeale, constancie, patience, and knowledge of the children of the *Catholique Romane Church*, so to encrease in al orders sexes & degrees of men, that they may see and confesse, that *Digitus Dei est hic*; and that if they persist, *Novissimus error ipsorum erit peior priori*.

Once, they shew them selues to be so terrified by God in the blood & death of so manie Martirs, which they in a kind of extreme desperate obstinacie, and obduration doe dailie kil, & yet are so appalled by the truth and the common sense of al men; that they dare not, or are ashamed to execute them for religio: whereby euen now in the vaunt of their wealth, peace and prosperitie, they shew such extraordinarie feares, as is wonder to behold.

The extreme
feares of
English
Protestants.

The speech
of the
Ierres.
Iohn. 11.

Wherin their miserie is so lamentable (as we consider it) the perplexitie which God hath driuen them vnto, so terrible; that ther is not a poore Priest can enter to say Masse, but they imagine he bringeth their destruction. Ther can not a ship appeare in anie coast, nor anie Princes preparation for his owne affaires, but it is for inuasion of the Realme. Ther can be no College founded to releue mens banishmets abroad, no intertainment giuen to anie Catholique ether in cape or court, but al is against their state; euerie man crying out, *Quod venient Romani, & tollent lacum & gentem nostram*.

So long as our Realme was in the vnitie of the Catholique Church, and liued ether in iust warres, or honorable peace with our neighbours; was ther anie such extreme feares of present inuasion? was ther such mustering? such diligent watch, and swearing against
the

the Pope at euerie porte? such examination of passingers? such a doe generallie, and such mistrust of the subiectes fidelitie? such ielousie ouer al men, as though the whole Realme were a Campe, that feared and expected euerie houre, some secret Camisado? Is this the felicitie & securitie that the Libeller so much glorieth of, wherof he saith other countries wishe some part? Surelie, a moderate fortune with securitie, is without comparison much better, then al the pleasures in the world, with perplexitie. And it seemeth by outward signes, that ther is no Nation in Europe which standeth this day, in so doubtful termes, as ours doth. Woe be to our sinnes therfore.

Which we say not vpon anie likelihood of anie such present dangers, as seeme there now so extremlie to be feared: or for that the Priestes of God or other Catholique men, can possiblie be anie cause therof, which is indeed no more but this; *Deum non inuocauerunt; illic trepidauerunt timore, ubi non erat timor.* God onelie hath driuen them vnto it, to giue them some sense of their miserie, and some remorse of their reuolte from him, and motion of repentance.

But our consideration is speciallie of the dreadful and most desperate case, our whole Countrie, euerie order, and eche particular man therof, is in; by the vncertaintie of the next heire to the Crowne: yea by the certaintie of most bloodie ciuil & forreine warres, among such a number of Competitours, such diuersitie of religions, such ambitious spirits that alredie make their packes and complots for the same: al our rest, peace, and felicitie what so euer depending vpon a few vncertaine dayes, of one sole persons life, wel growen in yeares, subiect to casualties, and vnder the hand of the omnipotent Lord, that taketh away when he listeth the spirits of Princes, and is terrible vpon the Kings of the earth. It were to miserable, for anie

Psal. 52. 6.

*The danger
of the Realme
by vncertaintie
of the next
inheritour.*

noble or gentleman, or other person ether of possession, wealth, or issue, in the whole land, not to knowe, or not to care, to whom his liuelihood should descend after him; but to prouide for his owne time onelic, & to let them goe by the eares and skamble for it afterward. Farre more miserable, vnnatural, and lamentable it is, to see such a noble whole Realme, and publique state driuen to thes straites and incomparable distresses, that almost it looketh for no longer life and being; and no person subiect therunto, for longer peace, wealth, and vse of their owne goodes, then her Maiesty liueth: that is to say; for ten, twentie, moe or lesse years, as it pleaseth God to allot her. Which thing being an euident demonstration, and palpable prooffe of our greatest calamitie; the deceitful aduersaries shame not to turne the same notwithstanding to the high commendation of their gouernment; telling the people how happie they be by the same, and how needfullie they haue to pray and prouide for the preservation of her Maiesties person, by whos onelic life, they enioy so great felicitie; afterward al to be in extremes.

*sr. Christo-
pher Hat-
tōs oration.*

Which the Counsellours them selues sticke not to confesse, and publish: as yow may reade in an oration, made by one of them vpon the accident that fel by the rashnes of a certaine seruing man, discharging his peece at randone, and striking one of the water-men in the Queenes barge, nere her Highnes person then present. In which oration, he acknowledge, nothing to be looked for after her death, but confusion, persecution, blood, vengeance, warres, spoile, rauishmentes, and al other maledictions, that the world can yeeld: and tenne thousand more, then (as he saith) can be by him foreseene. Not doubting to conclude, that, that day, we shal be the most miserable men in the world: in the meane time, onelic
enjoying

enjoying al felicities heauenlie and worldlie by her life.

Thus much hath that honorable person of our general calamitie. In the meane time, the matters are so ruled, that we must account our selues happie, if our common wealth stand during the life of her Maiesty. This is (alas) the felicitie of our countrie, praised and admired by them, that esteeme onelie the present vncertaine pleasure of a verie few yeares, without regard of the posteritie: but of wise men deemed for the highest miserie that can be; nothing in a Common bodie being praisable, that is not ioined with securitie and durabilitie.

The vaine felicitie of England set out by the Libeller.

Wherin our distresse is more markable, that it is not onelie not preuented in so manie yeares of Gods patience, and general foresight of the miseries, by the graue Councillours and al other wise men: but (which is more pitiful and vnnatural) it is by special lawes and capital penalties provided to the contrarie, that none may knowe or name the next lauful heire and successour vnder paine of highe treason; nor anie make claime, or chalenge anie future right therin, except her Highnes natural issue. Wherby vnder pretence of preserving their present state, they are contented to plunge their whole posteritie into eternal or verie long miseries. Yea and (which passeth al dishonour to the Realme and to her Maiesties person) to insinuate, that though the next in blood and lauful succession to her Highnes, may not chalenge or be named: yet onelie her natural; may be aduaunced ther-vnto. Which had bene shameful inough, and to much iniurie to the next of lauful blood, if it were graunted to the issue of a King gotten out of lauful matrimonie: but to preferre the natural of a Queene, (in whos person, by reason of her sexe, fornication were fouler, and the fruite thereof nothing so capable)

Evil provision for the succession.

that passed al shame and honour: procured (no doubt) or set doune in statute, by some wicked forgeries, of such as sought to dishonour her Maiesty contrarie to the meaning of the whole Parliament, which (as we thinke) did neuer deliberate of that special article, though it be extant in the printed and published copies of the same.

How so euer it be; our miserie herein is notorious and the old glorie and felicitie of our Realme (the guides therof, wittinglie and willinglie beholding it, and consenting thervnto) so fadeth and falleth to nothing in al mens sight: that we can not complaine inough of our instant calamities, nor attribute them to anie other cause then to Gods iudgements; whereby first (as the *Italian* saith) a mans braine, is taken away when God entendeth to punishe him, lest he should by prouidence auert the intended plague,

Radix peccati:

King Hen-
rie the eight
the begin-
ner of our
Countries
miserie.

*1. Mal. 1.
11.

Fisher.

More.

This our Countries scourge, proceeding wholie of our notorious forsaking the Catholique Church and *Sea Apostolique*, began first in K. Henrie the eight; being *Radix peccati* of our dayes (as the scripture speaketh of **Antiochus*) vpo that his most iniust title and chalenge of the Headship and supream gouernment of the Church, whence al thes extremities are ensfewed sithence. Which king God plagued meruelouslie streight vpon his reuolt, both spirituallie and temporallie. For within a verie short space (by his sufferance) he killed his owne wife, mother to her Maiesty that now is; whom he loued so impotentlie a litle before, that for her sake he both diuorced him self from his former wife (with whom he had liued so honorable twentie yeares together) and from the vnitie of the Church (which he and his predecessours had bene in, nine hundreth yeares before); and shed the blood of the learnedest, worthiest, and to him self the best beloued of al his Realme.

After

After that he married and remarried, killed and dismissed both wiues and frendes as often, and as manie ^{King Hen⁸} as he thought good; in such intemperate sort, as the ^{ries great} like hath neuer bene seene. He was in such torment of ^{offences.} conscience, and such perplexitie for his reuolt and other sacrileges: that sometimes he went about to ioyne with protestant Princes in religion; sometimes (thrice at least after his fall) to reconcile him self to the Pope againe; which thing our Lord, for his greater punishment, suffered him not to bring to good effect; but to die in passing anguise of mind for the former offences, and al the strange sacrileges committed; by forcing into the world wel neere a hundreth thousand professed persons: and by the destruction of ten thousand religious houses & Churches in one yeare, as one testifieth of him, in this Epigramme.

Millia dena vnus templorum sustulit annus.

Quam timeo in pœnas vix satis vnus erit.

And he that without al feare of God brake so manie thousand holie mens wils and foundations; had his owne testament broken, falsified, and forged, before his bones were thorough cold: and that *Romane religion*, which he by force of his owne newlie chalenged supremacie, and by sharpe lawes and humane deuises and punishmentes maintained during his life, and was by him speciallie recommended vnto such as he gaue the gouernment and education of his sonne, was immediatlie abolished and the whole Realme altered into Zwinglianisme, which of al other sectes he most abhorred.

And for his issue, leauing behind him three goodlie and towardlie children: first, *Edvard* of marueilous expectation; whom God tooke away in his yong ^{King Hen⁸} yeares, euen then when he was towards mariage: & ^{ries issue} after him his elder sister *Marie*; who liuing long a vir- ^{punished} gin, married at length onelie for desire of issue, and for <sup>for his sin-
nes.</sup>

the benefite of the Realme; which our Lord did not accomplish by her, but tooke her away within few yeares: and lastlie the Queenes Maiesty that now is; whom for her youth and great likelihood that way, euerie man verelie looked streight that she would haue taken some noble Prince, either stranger or subiect; hauing profer of the best in Christendome, and her self not seldome making semblance of good lykig that way, and of much loue to many. Which yet the same Lord God, for the due punishment of the said King her father, would not suffer: but by litle and litle, causing the Realme to fall to this desolation, that now we see it in; and the whole stocke and issue of the said King, contrarie to al hope and expectation, to faile and be frustrate.

*How so euer
good Art
The Libel-
lers fond re-
petition of a
mayden
Queene.
trato hat he
a vile deceit*

Wherin, it is but a smal comfort and remedie for thes our publique distresses, that the Libeller so often, by shameful flatterie, and odious (we dare say) to the Q. Maiesty her self, telleth vs she is A MAYDEN QUEENE; seing that with the Protestants it is no great merite nor praise to be a virgin; who compare the state of married persons in al pointes of dignitie vnto virginitie, preferring it also in some. And with vs Catholiques, in this case of the Realme: extreame danger, euen sacred and professed virgins, haue bene iustlie taken out of their better life, and by dispensation married. And would God in stead of her Maiesties virginie (so that it had stood with Gods wil & hers) we might rather haue had for the Realmes safety, issue of her bodie in honorable wedlocke. In which state ther is godlie continencie also, and perhaps (as thinges stand) as meritorious and glorious to her self, as her virginie.

But al are signes of Gods ire towards our poore Countrie: the euil lucke wherof and of King Henrie is so much more, that this noble line and issue now
failing,

failing, they wil not suffer vs to goe to the next of the same royal blood descending from the renowned Prince *Henrie* the seuenth, grandfather to her Maiesty (by whos victorious entrie, happie mariage and issue, al diuersitie of former claimes of the Croune, and most cruel Ciuil warres were ended; and the coniunctiō of the two Royal houses of *Lancastre* and *Yorke*, fortunatelie atchiued:) but by most shameful packing of certaine Puritanes and ambitious persons with the emulous house, and contrarie faction to the familie of this said noble Prince *Henrie* the 7. would bring al to skambling; and as they hope, gape after, and worke for, to their owne poste. That so by Gods iust iudgements our Countrie should at once, fal into two extreme miseries: both by forsaking God and the Catholique religion on the one side; as also by refusing, and tooto shamefullie abusing the onelie next, true and laufull heire; and consequentlie the whole blood of kinge *Henrie* the seuenth, on the other side. Wherein our feares might be the lesse if they would or could preuent the said mischeeues, by declaring, at least now at length, the heire apparant. But herein also our future calamities are shewed to be ineuitable, except God vse mercy aboue humane meanes. For the matter is so farre past and ouerruled by certaine, that they can now skarce enter into anie deliberation of the succession (as they imagine) without extreme peril which they had rather put of, to the end of the Queenes life and their owne, then haue it to fal presentlie in their dayes. Our Lord God turne al to the best, and to that end that most shal tend to his glorie, what deserued confusion so euer fal vnto vs.

This yet we can not but lament and maruaile at in this cause; that the coniunction and vniting the two noble Realmes of England and Scotland into one Monarchie, which we haue sought for with so manie

*Henrie do
Springe the
teares of all
present
Traitors:*

*here hee
fisheth for
a Cardenall
hatt:*

The cōm-
Elion of the
two Real-
mes into one
Monarchie.

here hee
worketh
for his
pency

cruel battailes, and so much blood of both Nations? being now offred by God and nature in the sweetest and (doubtles) most indifferent sort that can be; and in two persons, Mother and Sonne; the one for approved prudence, vertue, patiēce, constancie, courage in aduersitie, and equal loue of both the Countries: the other for the rarest towardlines in al Princelie partes, of anie of his age in al Christendome: both of our flesh and blood, and the neereft of al the beloued race of *Henrie* the 7. most proper for this purpose, & euen (as it were) provided by God him self; can not yet be accepted: but sought by vniust lawes, shameful practises, imprisonment of the one, raising rebellion against the other, ether vtterlie to be defeated, or made vncertaine of their certaine right, and forbidden to chalenge or vtter the same: while others intending vsurpation, vpon the next laufull successours vncertainie, make their profit and packe, for atchiuing their ambitious purpose. Of whom, as wel the Queene as the whole State present stād in farre more dāger, then they could euer doe by the publique acknowledging of the laufull heire: which yet is their pretence, in concealing the same from the Realme.

Into thes straites (loe) on euerie hande, is our poore Countrie brought by the iudgementes of God; whilest our Libeller and other Protestantes, tel the simple people of their faire weather, and present abundaunce of al thinges, to auert their mindes from the foresaid endles miseries. Which for our forsaking the faith of our Fathers, al wise men extremly feare, and certainlie expect, if we retorne not to our Lord God, and vnite our selues againe to the *Catholique* and *Romane Church*, which we haue so vnworthelie left, and cruellie persecuted. Out of whos companie and obedience ther is nether saluation in the next, nor anie true peace & securitie in this world: which both
Christian

Christian charitie and natural loue towardes our dearest cuntrye, frendes, flesh and blood, causeth vs so often and earnestly to inculcate; *Vt gens absque consilio sapiat, & nouissima prouideat.*

Deut. 32.
29.

Alas; it is nether Pope nor Priest (as the Libeller vnrulie affirmeth, and manie deceaued men simplie may suppose) that desireth their destruction: the one as a most louing Father and Pastor, with vnspeakable paines, solicitude, grones, teares and expenses; and the other by voluntarie death, and shedding of their owne blood, seeking their brethrens saluation, and the reconcilement of their Cuntrye to Christ and his Vicar. But they onelie are in truth (and so wil in the end proue) most capital enimies to our Queene & Cuntrye, that first were authors to her Maiesty to forsake the Church and Sea Apostolique; & doe stil animate her and the Realme, after so manie signes of Gods wrath towardes them, to contemne the authoritie & censures of the same; and violentlie to resist by force of armes and bloodie lawes, the supreme Pastor of Gods faithful people: as though he vsed the rodde of correction towardes offendours vpon malice, hatred, or partialitie, and not of entire affection, loue, and charitie.

Who are
indeed true
enimies to
her Maiesty
and our
Cuntrye?

Moyse and *Aaron* resisted *Chore* and his confederates, and executed Gods sentence vpon them, and were not their enimies. *Samuel* denounced and executed Gods sentence against *Saul*; *Elias* against *Iesabel*; and other Prophets and Priests against other Kings without al malice and with much loue. No otherwise then *Io. Roffensis*, *Sir Thomas Moore* and others did; who resisted vpo great loue and dutie to their Soueraine, disswading both his diuorce from the Church and from his wife. Which kind of men be nether traitors nor enimies to be resisted by sword or lawes: but they are onelie such aduersaries as our Sauour commaun-

N

Math. 5.

True and
good coun-
cel to her
Maiestie.

Lib. 10.
trip. hist.
cap. 18. &
26.

deth the faithful to agree withal in the way, for diuers dangers folowing. And thos men in such a case are onelie wise and godlie Councillours, her Maiesties true subiectes and worthie members of the Common-wealth, that humbly exhort her Highnes, not to be beguiled by her present fortune, or to thinke obstinate and forcible resistance of the Pope or Churches sentence of Excommunication, to be her most securitie: but to see what *Theodosius* the elder did whē he was excommunicated by *S. Ambrose*; to remember how *Theodosius* the yōger behaued him self in the cause of *S. Chrysostome*, for whos vniust banishment the said Emperours father and mother were excommunicated; to consider wel what the end of the controuersie was betwixt King *Henrie* the second and the Pope and Bishop of *Canturburie* in his time; and afterward betwene King *John* and the Sea of *Rome* and Cleargie in thos dayes? That althes in fin (as mightie Princes as they were) yeelded and reconciled them selues to the Sea Apostolique. A thing that after a litle heat or headines of yong Princes be past, was and euer shal be found in fin the onelie sure and honorable way before God and the world, to keepe them selues and their Realmes from perdition.

The mean-
ing of K.
Henrie 8.
for reconciling him
self to the
Sea of *Rome*.

Which danger her Maiesties father (in whom this reuolt of our daies and Countrie beganne) both afore once or twice, and speciallie towards his death sawe; and earnestlie sought to auert from his posteritie, by the like reconciling him self to the Church. Which yet, through Gods iudgements, he had not time to accomplish in himself; but was atchiued afterward most honorable in his eldest daughter, not onelie for consciēce sake otherwise: but especiallie for effectuating her said fathers great desire therein, as some of her cheefe Councillours (to whom he had cōmunicated his mind in that matter) did publickly testifie to the

the whole Realme at Paules Crosse. Would God our sinnes and the Realmes, could suffer her Maiesties wise Councillours to consider of the case, with such sinceritie as were requisite for them selues and vs al: who by their better or worse election in this one matter, are like ether to be long happie, or vnhappie for euer.

We trust the intollerable flatterie of this Libeller or other like (telling her Maiesty, that she hath no superiour but God; none aboue her but the Almighty; none that she need to feare or care for but him; and therfore that she hath not to regard anie sentence of Pope or others) can much moue anie of their wisdomes: this being a most shameful Heresie & vntruth, that a King hath no superiour in matters of his soule & conscience. When not onelie the general Pastor of the whole Church is his superiour, if he be one of Christes flocke or fould (al the sheepe wherof without exception by our maisters expresse sentence were committed to *Peter* & his successours feeding and gouernment): but also other Prelates of his owne kingdome that haue charge of his soule; to whom likewise he oweth al Christian obedience, in spiritual affaires, no lesse then the poorest man in the Realme. For kinges were not excepted from. *S. Paules* rule and admonition giuen to al the faithfull, in thes wordes; *Obedite prepositis vestris & subiaceite eis*; Obey your Prelates and be subiect vnto them; wherof he yeeldeth immediate lie the cause: *For that they vwatch as being to render accompt of your soules.*

How al
temporal
princes haue
superiours.

Heb. 13.

If Princes then haue soules, they must needes be vnder the accompt and charge of Prelates; if they haue Prelates, they must obey them and be subiect vnto them; if they be bound to obey them, and be subiect vnto them, they must acknowledge them for their superiours. How then say thes wicked flatterers,

that Kings & Queens haue no superiors; none to be subiect vnto, but God? That they be the cheefe euell in causes ecclesiastical, & in matters of religion, soule, and conscience, within their Realmes? That neither Pope nor Prelate can excommunicate them, or vse other discipline for correction of them, when they fall from their faith?

*The example
of Theodosius.*

If *Theodosius* the Emperour had had such bolsterers of his pride about him, or so litle grace and wisdom as to haue giuen eare to them: he would litle haue esteemed *S. Ambrose* authoritie sentence and censure against him. But he was more happie and Christian then to plead his superioritie in such matters aboue his Bishop; or to challenge exemption or impunitie in this world for what so euer he did or beleued, and onelie to be reserued to God. And it is a singular note of irreligiositie in our dayes, that the prophane Heretiques & godles persons doe prefer humane thinges, before diuine; the regiment temporal, before spiritual; the bodie, before the soule; earth, before heauen; Regalitie, before Priesthood; and this life, before the next and al eternitie. Which is an euident demonstration, that al tendeth in this Heresie, to plaine Paganisme and Epicurisme: esteeming and admiring none, but such as be in worldlie height power & dignitie, that can yeeld them thes transitorie honours, pleasures and preferments.

*The sayings
and doings
of ancient
Fathers in
this case.*

Epist. 33.

But the truth of this matter may and ought to be learned, partlie of the old, glorious, and most excellent Doctors and Bishops of the primitiue Church: and partlie by the behauiour of the first great Emperours and Kinges, that were professours and defendours of the Catholique faith. *What is more honorable* (saith *S. Ambrose*) *then that the Emperour be called a child of the Church; for a good Emperour is within the Church, and not aboue the Church.* And *S. Chrysostome* admonishing Prie-

stes

stes of their dutie, in keeping from the holie altar great offendours; expresse warneth them to vse their authoritie therin, euen towards Kinges, or what soeuer they be. *Whether* (saith he) *he be Duke, Prefect, or crowned Prince, that would unworthilie approche, forbid him: thy authoritie & pouer is greater then his.* So S. Gregorie Nazianzene speaketh to his owne Emperour. *The lawe of Christ hath made you subiect to my pouer and to my tribunal, for we haue our soueraintie, and that more excellent and perfect; unlesse the spirit should subdue it self to the flesh, and beauntlie thinges yeeld to the earthlie. Which my libertie of speech I feare not (O Emperour) but thou wilt allowe, seeing thou art an holie sheepe of my sacred fold, and a pupil of the great Pastor, and wel instructed by the holie Ghost from thine infancie.*

Hom. 60.
ad Popul.
& 83. in
Math.

Orat. ad
Ciues
Nazianz.

Also S. *Athanasius* plainlie auoucheth and proueth the Emperour *Constantius* the *Arrian*, to be the precursor of *Antichrist*, in that he made him self iudge & superiour in causes ecclesiastical ouer Bishops; and that his arrogated preeminence and exercise of iurisdiction in such matters (which our gentle Libeller calleth in our Queene, her Maiesties *Regalitie*) is, *Abominatio desolationis*, fortold by *Daniel*. What would this holie Father haue said, if he had seene *Cromwel* made the *Vicar general* to K. Henric in *Spiritualibus*; and sit among and before al the Bishops and Archbishops of the Realme, in their conuocations? If he had heard tel of *Sigillum Regina ad causas ecclesiasticas*; of her commissioners and courts; of her deposing and creating Bishops, and determining of Religiō at her pleasure? Kinges nether Catholiques nether Heretiques, euer went thus farre; being much more capable, then anie womā can be. Of which sexe S. *Chrysostome* sayeth thus. *When it cometh to the gouernment of the Church and charge of soules, al womankind must needes vholie giue place.*

Epist. ad
Solit. vit.
de gent.

Cromwel
Vicar ge-
neral.

Lib. 2. de
Sacerd.

That not onelie *Athanasius* the great but the an-

cient *Ofius*, *Leontius*, *S. Hilarie* and other, did so sharplie reprehend it in that heretical king *Constantius*; might haue forewarned our Countrie and her Maiesties Councillours, to haue taken heed, as wel of the like absurditie, as of the suspition of Heresie that in mens heades might seeme to be ingendred therbie: seing that such as first attēpted it, were notorious *Arrians*. But to giue the same and farre more superioritie to a womā (wherof, as you see by *S. Chrysostome* she cannot possible be capable) that passeth al the barbarous flatterie and follie in the world; and maketh our nation a verie fable to al nations, and to the posteritie.

How neer
the Libel-
ler doth
make the
Queene
God.

Which, in truth, is not to make her next to God in her Realme (as the Libeller saith) but to make her the God of her people. Fro which cogitation, though of her self, hauing so manie meanes to put her in mind of her mortalitie, we doubt not but shee is verie farre: yet truelie this abhominable and blasphemous adulation of some about her Highnes, may breed great tentations. As we see in certaine of the old heathen Emperours, who neuer rested til they were adored with diuine honour. The next step vnto which is (doubtles) to say and beleue, that a temporal King is aboue the Priest in causes ecclesiastical: or that in a Christian Common-weale, the next dignitie to Christ or God, is not the Priest but the Prince; and so arrogate the regiment of the Church to a Queene, which *S. Paul* expressely testifieth to be giuen to Bishops: saying; *Take heed to your selues and to the vvhole flocke, vvhetherin the Holie-Ghost hath placed you Bishops to rule the Church of God, &c.* Touching which our English singular absurditie, it is the greatest pitie in the world to see them so manie yeares, after so much holie blood protesting against that iniquitie, and so manie learned mens admonitions, persist in the same: and to alleage stil thos scriptures so impertinentlie for the Princes vsurped spiri-

Act. 20.

spiritual soueraintie, by which *Claudius* or *Nero* (in whos daies and of whom the Apostle spake specially) might as wel challenge to be aboue *S. Peter* and *Paul* in the gouernment of the Church and in causes ecclesiastical, as anie Christian king that now liueth. For whē *S. Peter* admonished the Christians to whom he wrote, and al other in them, *To be subiect to the king as excelling or preeminent* (which place our aduersarie so confidentlie alleageth): first, can anie man be so dul or obstinatlie blind, as to thinke that he prescribeth anie other dutie towards the king then was common both to the Pagane Princes at that time persecuting the Church, & to Christiā kinges afterward protecting the Church? Secondlie; can anie Protestant be so peeuish to pretend herebie that the heathen Emperours, by reason of this subiection to them that the Apostle prescribeth, and by their Imperial dignitie, should be aboue *S. Peter*, *Paul*, or *Christ* him self in the Church of God, or in ecclesiastical regiment? (for *Christ* behaued him self to the Emperour in his daies, as the Apostle here commaundeth Christians to doe): and that the Apostolical preeminence, or our Sauours owne Priesthood among the faithful, should not be esteemed so highe in truth and afore God, as the regalitie of *Nero*, or any other ether faithful or heathen tēporal power?

Thirdlie; can they be so ignorāt as not to see, the king to be called the cheefe or precellig by the Apostle, not in comparison or respect of the spiritual dignitie: but in regard of his Dukes, Presidents, and other lieutenants vnder him, as the text it self plainlie geueth? Fourthlie; can not our aduersaries discern the causes in which both Christian Priestes, religious, and al other men (as *S. Chrysostome* writeth) doe owe obedience to laful kinges (whether they be heathen or faithful) from thos matters, wherein nether Pagane nor Christian Prince may commaund the Priest nor

Marke this reason.

1. Pet. 2.

13.

1.

The absurdities of Protestants in founding the Q. spiritual Supremacie vpon *S. Peters* word.

2.

3.

4.

people that is in religion and affaires of the soule?

*The true
meaning
and cause
of S. Peters
wordes.*

5. Fiftlie; could they not espie, by the wordes of *S. Peter* next going before, that the occasion of his writing of this obedience to Princes, was; to teach the faithful, how they should behaue them selues in companie of the heathen without offence? Who amōg other thinges slandered and charged the Christians of treason, conspiracies and disobedience to their Prince (euen as our Protestants doe Catholiques) because they would not leaue their Christian faith and exercises at their commaundement; nor obey them before God and their holie Pastours, in matter of faith and conscience. For stopping of al which false & slanderous tonges, *S. Peter* required thē to obey their Princes in al worldlie, tēporal & ciuil matters; to pay their tribute, keepe their ciuil lawes, liue peaceable and lowlie amongst them; yea & to pray for them, whether they tollerate the Christian religiō or persecute the same.

6. Lastlie; could our Libeller and his fellowes be in truth so grosse as not to consider, that though the Apostles and holie Bishops of thos first times, (when the Emperours were yet heathen & strangers to Christ, and his Church) could haue no superioritie ouer them, nor vse anie discipline towards them, the other acknowledging no dutie or subiection to the Apostles or spiritual gouernours of the faithful people: yet now when the Princes of the world haue submitted them selues and their people to the Ghospel of Christ and to his sweet yoke, and are become members and childrē of the Church: as the spiritual power oweth in worldlie thinges honour and obedience to his temporal soueraine: so likewise, that the secular power must of reason yeeld honor and subiection to the spiritual, in affaires of faith, soule and religion? ether of them hauing meanes in their kind of superioritie, to force by lawes penaltie & discipline the other

to

to obedience and due subiection, if ether should rebel
agaist the other? Wherin because the spiritual power
consisteth in thinges *Quæ sunt ad Deum*; and that con-
cerne our soules, and the conducting of them to life
and peace cuerlasting: and the temporal pertaineth
principallie to the good and trāquilitie of this trāsitorie
life; comparing the both together, it must needes
be cōfessed, that the spiritual is the higher nearer and
liker to the Soueraintie of God, ouer his reasonable
creatures; the is the terrene power or *Humane creature*,
as the Apostle here termeth the King & his presidēts. 2. Pet. 7.

So as euerie power both spiritual and temporal
being of God (as *S. Paul* teacheth) and obedience and
subiection due to both in their kind, though in seue-
ral subiects, causes and respectes: yet is it most cleare
that of the two the ecclesiastical power and regiment
is more excellent. In respect wherof, *S. Ignatius* giueth
this order in honoring and respecting our superiours:
*Honour God the author and Lord of al, and the Bishop as the
Prince of Priestes, being the Image of God and holding his
Princedom of him, and his Priesthood of Christ. And after
him you must honor also the King. For none is to be preferred
before God nor equal to him, nor more honorable in the Church
then the Bishop, exercising the Priesthood of God for the sal-
uation of the world. Nether is anie equal to the King in
the hoste or campe, procuring peace and beneuolence to the
other Princes vnder him. For he that honoreth the Bishop
shalbe honored of God; and he that dishonoreth him shal
of God be dishonored. For if anie man rising against the king
is vworthie of damnation; how can he escape Gods iudgemen-
tes, that attempteth anie thing against or vwithout the Bi-
shop? For Priesthood is the cheef and somme of al mans good:
vvhich vvhoso so euer disgraceth, dishonoreth God, and our
Lord IESVS CHRIST the chefe Priest of God, &c.*

The subor-
dination of
the two
powers ac-
cording to
S. Ignatius.

Epist. ad
Smirne.

And if anie man list farther to see what the olde
Christian Emperours thought and acknowledged in

The opinio
& practise
of old Chri-
stian Empe-
rours in this
cause.

Li. 2. ca. 2.
trip.

Auth.
Quomo-
do oport.
Episcop.
&c. in. p.

this matter; and how they behaued them selues to-
wardes Gods priestes in al causes of religion and spi-
ritual affaires; and with what honour, priuilege, and
prerogatiue they respected their persons, and holie
calling euen in temporal causes: let him reade *Zozome-
nus* how *Constantine* the great behaued him self towar-
des the Bishopes in the first Councel of *Nice*: and *S.
Augustines* 162. epistle of the same Emperours con-
tentment, to aske pardon of the Bishopes for taking
vpon him to deale in the Cause of *Cacilian*, properlie
pertaining to them: & *S. Ambrose* epistle 32. of *Valex-
tinian* the elders lawe, that in ecclesiastical causes none
should iudiciallie deale, that were not of the same or-
der. The like he writeth of the Emperour *Gratians* be-
hauour in the Councel of *Aquileia*. And to be breefe;
let him reade the Emperour *Iustinianus* sixt constitu-
tion, wher he both putteth the true difference be-
twixt the Priesthood and the Empire; and preferreth
that before this, saying thus: *The greatest giftes of God
among men, is the Priesthood and the Empire: of vvhich two
the former hauing the administration of diuine thinges, the
other of humane, both proceeding of one beginning, doe adorne
mans life &c.*

And thus it is, euen in thos Countries where the
Church and Ciuil state concur in one common
wealth; & wher like as the Prelates be in some respect
and causes subiect to the temporal Prince: so againe
the Prince and state reciprocally in spiritual matters,
are obedient to the Church & Prelates: ether of them
deferring due honor to the other; but the spiritual so-
uerantie euer preferred among the faithfull; though
for worldlie power, force, and glorie (most necessarie
to keepe the people in awe & order) kinges doe light-
lie exceed the other. Which exterior shew and splen-
dour of Princes, the Prelates of their feueral domi-
nions, doe most humbly by al seruice and office main-
main-

mainteine.

But now for the Pope (cheefe of al Bishopes and Christian people) being in respect of his temporal state, subiect to no Prince nor Potentat of the world; and for his spiritual dignitie and iurisdiction farre passing al the Prelates of particular Churches and provinces; his principalitie being in nether kind subiect or subalternate to anie other: he must needes be greater and more pearles without al exception and limitation. And though his state and authoritie temporal, be not holden nor chalenged by Gods expresse lawe immediatlie of him, as the spiritual supremacie is, which he hath and holdeth immediatlie and directlie of Christ: yet it is Gods great providence that sith the Emperours and Kinges haue bene christened, and submitted themselves to the obedience of Christ and his Church; that the cheefe Bishop should for the honour of Christ and his high dignitie, be made free from al subiection, by the Princes and Emperours owne grauntes; & be possessed of the capital Citie of al the world. Which could neuer haue bene brought to passe, nor so manie worldes continued (in the reuolutions, changes and ouerturninges of so many kingdomes states & great Monarchies round about him): had it not bene done by Gods special pleasure & ordinance; to the end that being subiect to none, he might with more libertie, lesse danger, and greater indifferencie, doe iustice to al; and vse discipline without feare or respect of persons, as wel towards great as smal. Which, if he were subiect to some secular Princes, as most other Bishopes are, could hardlye be done.

In which case also some of our ignorant Heretiques (as among other, this Libeller) be so vn sensible, that they sticke not to alleage the saying of S. Paul; *That euerie soule must be subiect to superiour power;* Rom. 13.

The promise of God for the Popes temporal power.

Absurd allegation of S. Paul by the Libeller.

to proue therbie (as it seemeth) that the Pope should be obedient to our Queene, or to some other particular king. As though euerie person should be subiect to euerie power; or to anie other then to him, that hath superioritie ouer him: or in anie other matters then wherein he hath superioritie & may commaund. Or as though God had onelie ordeined secular power, and commaunded al obedience therunto; and not appointed spiritual power and prelacie, with charge of subiection vnto the same also. With such grosse felowes the Church hath to doe, that nether haue sense, reason, nor religion: and which alleage that, for obedience to earthlie powers onelie, which ether in expresse wordes, or by necessarie sequele, much more commendeth subiection to spiritual powers.

Luc. 22.

As with like blindnes, the man also alleageth this our Sauours sentence: *The Kinges of the Gentils, haue rule over them, but you not so*; to proue that Popes should arrogate no temporal authoritie, but feede onelie, as he saith *Peter* did, and manie of the next Popes after him. Which he would neuer haue cited if he had knowen that hereby onelie al tirannical domination vsed among the heathen Princes is forbid to al Christian magistrates both spiritual and temporal; and not anie iust rule, superioritie or regimēt ouer others, to ether kind. Or if he had considered, that feeding conteineth not onelie preaching, but also al kind of iust meanes and holie endeouours, for the propagation of the Gospel, and mens saluation, according to the difference of times, persons, and places; as excommunication and other ecclesiastical censures and corrections: which thinges at least pertheyning to the spiritual powers directlie, our aduersaries should admit and humblie obey; and if they so would doe, they should neuer need to feare ether the Popes, or other mens swordes wherof they make so much impertinent

ment brable.

Marry they preteñd some zeale in the matter; affirming that the *Popes of Rome*, before they had these ^{The Libellers Zeale} great temporal states, and folowed Christ and the ^{for limitation of the} Apostles in humilitie, dilated the limites of Christes ^{Popes sword and} Church and the faith more in one hundreth yeares, ^{curse.} then the later Popes haue done with their swordes & curses in fīue hundreth yeares. To which we say that they seeme now not onelie desirous to haue his tēporal power & sword taken from him (as they pretended by their former speeches and allegatiōs): but also his spiritual weapon and exercise of discipline towardes offendours, called here by the Libeller, his Curse. Which (no doubt) they vsed of olde vpon such as were subiect to the Church, and their regiment, no lesse then the Popes doe now and some what more: though they could not then (before Kings were conuerted to the faith) vse anie discipline or authoritie ouer them, much lesse anie humane forces: for that they had not then such worldlie preeminence, as was due to their high calling in Christ, & as afterward God hath endewed them withal; but were for some hundreth yeares persecuted and put to death by the enemies of Christs faith and glorie. In which state it seemeth the aduersaries would haue them stil, being miscōtent that they haue ether forces to fight against the Turke, or to pursue Heretiques that wil not obey their spiritual sentence or rodde of Excommunication.

As for conuersion of peoples or nations to the faith, whether ther were more brought to Christ ī thos daies ^{How necessary tēporal habilities are to the Pope.} and in the poorer worldlie conditiō of Popes, then afterward in the dayes of their wealth, is not to the purpose to dispute: but whether this state of thīges be more agreable to the time present, and for the conseruation of Princes and people alredie conuerted,

or rather the first poore Apostolical condition, that is to be considered of wise men. Though the Libeller shal hardlie proue that moe nations haue bene wholely conuerted in the time of the Popes pouertie and aduersitie, then afterward in their greatnes.

Conversions wrought by later Popes.

This is sure; that our owne *English* people, the most part of *Germans*, *Polackers*, and other northern Countries, besides the inhabitants of the East and west *Indians* and other extreme partes of the world; haue speciallie bene ether first conuerted, or recouered since by the holie trauailes of the later Popes. And further we may be bold to say, that the Pope onelie by the powers temporal and spiritual that God hath giuen him, doth more at this day for cōuersion and gaining of *Panimes*, *Turkes*, *Iewes*, *Mores*, *Heretiques*, *Schismaticques* and other Infidels, then al the Protestants put together in the world: besids other infinite immortal actes of charitie which he doth in manie partes of Christendome; which he could neuer doe, if he had not such temporal habilities, as therunto and to the vpholding of his high and pearles dignitie aboue al particular Prelates and Princes, were requisite.

But of the prerogatiue of the spiritual power as wel in this highe Priest (who is subiect to none in earth) as in other Prelates of particular prouinces (who are often subiect to other Princes) we haue said inough to repress the pernicious flatterie of the Libeller, and the like; that would exempt euerie secular person from al submission and obedience to their Pastours.

A most excellent determination of S. Ambrose about spiritual superioritie. Epist. 33.

Onelie leauing to al the wise of our Countrie the few lines of *S. Ambrose*, for a warning and a watchword in this cause, and for the end in maner of al our *S. Ambrose* dispute. *Mandatur*: (saith he) *Trade Basilicam. Respondeo. Nec mihi fas est tradere; nec tibi accipere (Imperator) expedit. Domum priuati, nullo potes iure temerare; domum Dei existimas auferendam? Allegatur; Imperatori licere omnia,*

ipsius

ipsius esse vniuersa. Noli te grauari (Imperator) ut putes te in ea qua diuina sunt, imperiale aliquod ius habere. Noli te extollere; sed si vis diuinus imperare, esto Deo subditus: scriptum est, Quia Dei Deo, qua Caesaris Casari; ad Imperatorem palatia pertinent, ad sacerdotem Ecclesia: publicorum tibi maiorum ius commissum est, non sacrorum. In English. The commaundement was this; Giue vp the Church: I answere, that it is nether lauful for me to deliuer it, nor expedient for the (O Emperour) to receaue it. Thou canst by no right violate anie priuate mans house; and thinkest thou the house of God may be taken away? But they say; the Emperour may doe what he list, and that al are his. I answere. O Emperour be not so much abused, as to thinke that thou hast anie Emperial right in diuine matters. Extol not thy self, but if thow list hold thine empire long, be subiect to God: for it is written, *The thinges that are Gods, to God; and that are Cesars, to Cesar.* The palaces perteine to the Emperour, the Churches to the Priest. The charge of the common wals of the Citie are committed to thee, and not the charge of sacred thinges.

So he spake to *Valentinian* the Emperour. And so we say to our Princeesse, and to al such as haue charge vnder her Highnes of our Countrie; that this Libeller and who els soeuer (by lothsome and base flatterie extolling her Regalitie and secular Soueraintie aboue Priesthood and the *Apostolique* authoritie; thereby exempting her from al obedience and subiection to Christes Church and to thos whom the holie Ghost hath placed ouer the same Church in earth) doe shamefullie abuse them, to their and the Realmes destruction, except God be merciful aboue our merites.

We tel them plainlie and sincerlie, with the said glorious Doctor and Saint, and therupon wil pledge

our liues in this world and our soules euerlastinglie,
 (and that without detracting any obedience due to
 her temporal soueraintie in spiritual matters) that her
 Maiesty hath no charge, authoritie, or power ouer
 the Church or ecclesiastical affaires, no more then
 the poorest soule in her Realme; nor so much nether,
 til she be a member & obedient child of the Church
 and *Sea Apostolique*. With this onelie exception, that
 for the height of her dignitie and by her special othe
 and obligation, she is bound more to defend and pro-
 tect the Church then her subiects be.

And finally, vpon al the proofes reasons and autho-
 rities that haue gone before, we auouch, that besi-
 des God almightie, euerie tēporal Prince Christened,
 hath his pastor also, and speciallie the general gouer-
 nour of the whole Church, for his superiour in earth
 in al causes of soule & conscience; to whos orders in
 matter of religion, he is bound to obey vnder
 paine of damnation: and that Gods iust iud-
 gements are nere the Princes and coun-
 tries what soeuer, that wil not obey
 him; but violentlie resist his ordi-
 nance, and by Antichristian
 pride, doe challenge power
 not laful to be yeel-
 ded vnto them.

THE CONCLVSION CONTEI-
NING A CHARITABLE MOTION, AND A
*ioinder vvith the Libeller touching some meanes of tollera-
tion in Religion, and ceasing or mitigating
this cruel Persecution.*

C A P. I X.



ND now though in the deepe
conceauing of this our Countries
incōparable offence, our hartes
be wholie oppressed with feare
and heauines: yet ether the force
of our peculiar affectiō towards
our flesh and blood, driuing vs
to hope for better then is deser-
ued; or the largenes of Gods immesurable mercies,
yeelding, contrarie to mans demerits, pardō vpon re-
pentance; doe cause vs often-times to expect grace &
mercie, rather then extreme rigour and iudgement.

In which cogitatiō it cometh often to our mindes, *Causes of*
that if anie thing auert Gods ire from our Prince and *feares and*
Countrie, it is the abundance of holie blood shed the *hope to-*
late yeares, & euer sith the first reuolt. Which though *vvardes*
by iustice, it might crie rather to God for vengeance *our Coun-*
(and so it doth in respect of the impenitent, and the *trie.*
clamor therof shal neuer be void) yet we trust it sueth
for mercie, speciallie in respect of the infinite number
of al estates, that neuer consented to this iniquitie. It
is the heroical endeouour of a great-manie zealous
Priestes and worthie gentlemen, that continuallie of-

fer not onelie their praier, and other deuout and religious offices; but them selues in sacrifice, for the saluation of their best beloued Countrie. It is the ardent and incessant care of his Holines, seeking our reconciliation with charitie vnspeakable. It is the general coniunctiō of al Christiā mindes in the whole world, towards our recouerie. No Church, no Companie, Monasterie or College of name in Christēdome, that with earnest deuotiō and publique fastes and praier, laboreth not to God for mercie towards vs. Finallie; euen thos things and persons, that the aduersaries accompt to be the cause of al their troubles & feares, are indeed the onely hope of Gods mercy, their owne pardon, and our Countries saluation.

In which case, to deale as freelie for a farewell, and as charitablie with the Libeller as he would seeme to conclude with vs: we wishe no more for performance

The Libellers offer in the ende of his booke Fol. 18.

of that he proposeth and partlie promiseth, but that he were assured of her Maiesties and the Councils mind therein: or were of such credit with them, that he could bring that to good effect which ī couert wordes he pretendeth, towards vs: which is, that he doubteth not but her Maiesty would shed no more the blood of her natural subiectes, nor vse any more bodily punishments at al, if they would desist from their practises abroad, from their writing of railīg bookes, and from wandering in disguised apparel within the Realme; & would imploy their trauail in the workes of light and doctrine, according to the vsage of their schooles; and content them selues with their profession and deuotion. So the man speaketh how soeuer he meaneth. But (Alas) if anie mercie, iust or tollera-

The vrgent distresses of English Catholiques.

ble treatie were meant, or euer had bene offered to Catholiques vpon anie reasonable conditions what so euer; our aduersaries had neuer needed to haue fallen to such extreme proceedinges with their owne flesh and

and blood: nor euer had anie such troubles, fears, or dangers bene thought vpon, wherof now they haue so deepe apprehension. If anie pitiful care had euer bene giuen by the superiours to the incessant grones, cries, teares, and supplications of their Catholique subiects, desiring but releefe of their infinitlie distressed consciences, tormented by damnable othes, articles, and exercises of Caluinisme, that were forced vpon them: if they might haue had ether by licence or conuiuece, in neuer so few places of the Realme, neuer so secretlie, neuer so inoffensuelie, the exercise of that faith & religiō, which al their forefathers since our Countrie was conuerted, liued and died in; and in which them selues were baptised; and from which by no lawe of God nor man they can be compelled, to anie sect or rite of religion, which they nor their forefathers euer voluntarilie accepted or admitted: if of al the noble Churches, Colleges, and other inestimable prouisiōs of the Realme, founded and made onelie by Catholiques and for Catholiques, and for no protestants nor anie their sacrilegious ministeries at al, some few had bene permitted to the true owners, and to that true worship of God, for which they were instituted: if they might haue obtained anie peece of that libertie, which Catholiques enioy in *Germanie*, *Zuicherland*, or other places among protestāts; or half the freedom that the *Hugonots* haue in *Fraunce* and other countries: yea, or but so much courtesie as the Christians find among the verie *Turks*; or verie *leuues* among Christians; vpon anie reasonable or vnreasonable tribute (which hath bene often in most humble and lamentable sort offered and vrged): or (to be short) if anie respect, care, or compassiō in the world had bene had, ether of Catholique mens soules, bodies, or goods; our aduersaries should neuer haue bene troubled nor put in ielousie of so manie mens malcontentment at

home, nor stand in doubt of the departure & absence of so great a number of Nobilitie and principal gētlemen abroad: they should neuer haue had such Colleges and Seminaries in other Princes dominions, erected and furnished with English youthes, the issue wherof is now, and perhaps wil be hereafter more & more wonderful to the world: they should not haue bene controlled in their Heresie so zealously and effectually by the Priestes created at home of old, or lately ordeined and sacred abroad: ther should haue bene no cause of writing so manie bookes for defence of our innocencie, and the Faith of our forefathers; and for our iust complaint to the Christian world, of the intollerable rigour or crueltie vsed against vs.

In al which bookes no protestant in *England* is able to reprove the writers of anie vntruth or flander, railing, immodestie, or misbehaviour towards our secular Princeesse or persecutours; what so euer the Libeller without proof affirmeth here. Wherin I auow him to be so much destitute of truth, as he is not able to alleage one line, or sentence, or anie one example out of our writings to the contrarie: as on the other side, nether he nor any els can cleare our aduersaries the enemies of Gods Church, of anie one point of fact, or doctrine, wherwith they be by vs charged.

Offer of
open dealing
with di-
sputation if
it may be
receaued.

Lastlie; the said Priestes which passe into England (of whos couert working, disguising & close keeping they so much cōplaine, as though that were inough to proue them traitors) would haue appeared openly in their owne Priestly habite, and haue done their holy functions in the sight of al men, if in any sort whatsoever they had bene permitted. As also at this present, not onely vpon her Maiesties graunt and desire (insinuated here by the Libeller) for the to vse openly their deuotion doctrine and profession according to the maner of their schooles: but vpon anie sufficient warrant.

warrant of safetie, they are further also then that, most redie and willing to giue an accompt of al their doctrine publiquelie in the Vniuersities of *England*, or before her Highnes and Councel whersoeuer. A thing which by manie bookes, petitions, and supplications, our brethren haue oftē humblie and instantlie asked, and could neuer yet obtaine.

The Libeller putteth vs in hope, that if the Priestes and Seminarie men would deale openlie, the persecution and blood should cease. And we assure him that the persecution first ceasing and her Maiesties pleasure herin vnderstood (which is the natural order and not contrariwise) al Priestes, religious, and Catholiques wil appeare, and present them selues; and wil doe al such Christian exercises duties and functions, (as now by persecutiō they are forced to doe in secret) in the face of the whole Realme: no man, thanks be to God, being ashamed of his order, faith, profession or Maister: though euerie one be bound otherwise by the lawe of our Religion, to saue him self so long as it shal please Christ, from the persecutor. And it is a great signe of our Priestes and Catholiques innocencie and of our aduersaries ignorance and malice: that, seeking to appeach a Christian man or Priest of treason; they haue no more to lay against him, then that he sheweth not him self openlie, but dealeth secretlie; and weareth an other habite thē is belonging to his degree.

The holie King and Prophet *Dauid*, in place of danger did not onelie otherwise couer his person often and fled from his enimies: but feined him self a plaine mad man before *Achis* king of *Geth* in al his behaviour, to escape peril. How often doe we reade in the *Euangelistes* that our Sauiour fled, that he did hide him self, that he walked not openlie, that he went vp to *Hierusalem* on the feast day not openlie, but in couert?

*That men
may flie
and hide
them selues
in persecu-
tion.*

1. Reg 21

Ioh. 10.

Who can be ignorant that it was no offence for *Nicodemus* that he came to *Iesus* in the night for feare of the *Iewes*? Who knoweth not that the *Apostles*, as wel before as after the comming of the holie-Ghost, kept them selues often secret in priuate parlors and chambers: as the first holie Bishopes of *Rome* (for feare of their persecutors) kept their meetinges, misteries and counsels, in caues and grots vnder the ground? How can they forget what holie *Athanasius* did in the daies of his persecution? Or not be mindful how holie *Barlaam* feined him self in apparel and al other behauiour a marchant, to gaine Prince *Iosophat* to the Christian faith? Or of the notable example of the holie Martir and Bishop *Eusebius Samosatenus*, who in the time of *Constantinus* the Arrian Emperour seeing manie Churches occupied by the Heretiques and voide of true Pastors; went like a souldiar through *Syria*, *Phe-nicia*, and *Palestine*, making Priestes and Deacons, and ministring the Sacraments to the Catholique people, destitute of their holie rightes, then by the *Arrians*, as they be now in *England* by *Caluinistes*?

Apud S.
Damasce.

The exāple
of Euseb.
samosate-
nus most
like to the
practise of
Priestres in
England.

Men may
change ha-
bite.

The case is ruled in al diuinitie; that anie religious, Priest, or Christian, to auoide danger of his person, may in the places of Infidels leaue the habite of their profession or vsage, and couer them selues from the enimie by anie disguise. And if we knew not the arte and cunning of Heresie, we might wonder to see our protestants so religious now, as to require of our Priestres to goe priestlike, with open and present danger of their liues; when their owne Cleargie at home make scruple to vse distinct attire from the vulgar, & accompt it plaine superstition to weare anie religious or clarkly apparel at al. But yet I must confesse that they haue good reason to wishe euerie one of our Priestres would shew him self opely; for so they might soone make an ende of al (as they thinke) and attaine
the

the victorie that they desire. But our maister admonishing his disciples that he would send the as sheepe amongst woolues; warneth them, and vs in them, that men should not onelie be simple as the doue, but wise as the serpent: speciallie among woolues, that is, Heretiques; which are of al creatures most cruel and subtile. Math. 10.
Luc. 10.

But to returne to our purpose and to the Libellers profer of mitigation or ceasing this persecution, vpon condition we would deale no more in secret, but openlie. We protest before God and al his Saints, that we wil (vpon anie reasonable securitie of our persons, libertie of conscience, permission to exercise Christian Catholique offices, to the saluation of our owne soules and our brethren) doe the same thinges publickly which we now doe secretly, in al peaceable and priestly sort as hitherto we haue accustomed: and that so, thos things which now you suspect to be done against the state (for that they be done i couert) may plainlie appeare vnto you nothing els indeed, but mere matter of conscience and religion; as in veritie they are.

Therefore, if such as gouerne our state vnder her Maiesty at this day, can not be induced to reuoke the selues and the whole Realme (which were absolutelie the best) to the former Catholique state and condition wherein their auncestors left it, and them selues found it, in respect perhaps of some litle cheke or dishonour which they may conceiue would ensue by acknowledging their former error; (though in sincere truth it must needes proue finallie more dishonorable and dangerous to perseuer): yet at the least, let their wisdomes consider, that their principal worldlie error was; that in the beginning, or long since, they gaue not libertie of conscience to Catholiques (being farre the greater and more respectiue part of the Realme) as

other of their religion and profession haue done, to their owne great aduantage, in *Germanie* and other Prouinces adioining; which errour (no doubt) might yet in great part or wholie be redressed, if they would but now at length haue some pitie of their people: the greater part wherof languisheth away in bodie and soule most lamentable, onlie vpon an obstinate punto & formalitie (as is thought) of some few particular aduersaries, who wil not seeme to yeeld in any one iote or circumstance, though neuer so much comoditie might ensue therof.

Which matter of libertie of Conscience we moue not perchance, for our owne benefite so much, as for our aduersaries weale, and worldlie securitie, wherof they wil seeme to haue both mistrust and sollicitude. And perhaps the wisdom of God wil found otherwise and say to vs, *Nescitis quid petatis*: iudging it to be farre more to his honour and glorie, and the breefer way to saluation of our whole Nation, and of moe soules in particular, that we should passe through this persecution, and winne our owne and our brethrens saluation by our blood. And indeed if the *Germane Catholiques* had bene so restrained, persecuted & put to death, as the English haue bene thes years; and had not gone by halfes with the Protestantes as in some places they haue done: they had had perhaps farre moe Catholiques at this day, and them more zealous; and their whole nation (perchance) reduced ere this: which now, for the protestants, standeth not so much on their religion or conscience in Heresie; as vpon their mutual peace, concord, and concurrence with Catholiques.

Wel; what were best for vs in this case God onelie knoweth. *Nos humanum dicimus propter infirmitatem nostram*, as the Apostle speaketh. But sure we are, that the first best for our English nation, as wel Prince as people,

people, were both in respect of God and the world; of them selues, and other men; to restore the state againe to the obedience of Gods Church, and to the happy felowship of al their forefathers, & other faithful people & Princes now liuing. The next best were in respect of their owne securitie and perpetuitie (if the first may not take place) to desist from persecuting their Catholique subiectes and brethren, and to graunt some libertie for exercise of their consciences, diuine offices and holie deuotions; that so they may pray for her Maiesty and Councillors as their Patronnes, whom now they pray for onelie as their Persecutors.

*Tvvo
vraies of
composition
very profit-
table to the
realme.*

If to none of thes conditions they can be brought, but wil haue our bodies, goods, life and soules: then let our Lord God the iust Arbitrer of al thinges, and Iudge of Princes as wel as poore men, and the onelie comforter of the afflicted, discerne our cause. In whos holie name, word and promis, we confidentlie tel them, and humblie euen in Christs blood pray them, to consider of it; that by no humane force or wisdom they shal euer extinguish the Catholique partie, ouercome the holie Church, or preuaile against God. Ther can no *Herode* kil *Christ* in his cradle: nor anie *Pharao* droune our male sexe and destroy Gods people: nor anie *Aman* extirpate the stocke of *Iacob*. Let them seeke with al desperation to diminish, bridle, spoile, impouerish, disgrace and extinguish the whole generation of Catholiques at home and in banishment: let them by artificial Libels (as this against which we haue written) and otherwise by most impudent lies and fictions slander vs, charge vs with treasons and other trespasses, *Mentientes, propter Christum*: belying vs for Christs sake: let them confederate them selues against vs with al the Protestants, Turkes, Sectaries, and Atheistes in the world: yet the Ca-

*The Con-
clusion.*

*Math. 3.
Exod. 1.
Hest. 7.*

tholiques (that is, the seede of God) wil encrease in number, power, and zeale: the Priestes wil not leaue of to folowe their dutiful trade, with more spirite, diligence, deuotion, patience, and cōstancie then euer before; remembring the aduertisement of their

Mat. 10. Maister, that he shalbe saued that perseuereth to the
22. ende; as also that worthie record left in scripture of

Eccl. 48. Esay the great & faithful Prophet: *qui spiritu magno vidit ultima*, as the holy-Ghost saith of him; for that his corage neuer failed him in Gods seruice to the end.

The persecutours be now no stronger then thy were of old. The Church is no weaker then she had wont to be. Her assistant and defender is as neere her as euer he was. We are no better the our forefathers. We lesse feare death, and lesse set by our liues, then euer before. Our countes are cast & allowed: it is better to die in this Apostolical fight and cōbat, *Quàm videre mala*

1. Mach. *gentis nostræ & sanctorum*: assuring our selues that to
3. 59. be vndoubted which S. Leo writeth; *Nullo crudelita-*

Leo. *tis genere destrui potest Sacramento Crucis fundata religio.*

Non minuitur persecutionibus Ecclesia, sed augetur.

” That, the religion founded in the sacrament

” of Christs Crosse, can be destroied by no

” kind of crueltie. The Church is not di-

” minished by persecutions, but en-

creased. And that S. Augustine

saith; *Nemo delet de Cælo con-*

stitutionem Dei: Nemo

delet de terra Ec-

clesiam Dei.

Laws Deo.

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49.	33. faith, brought.	faith, that they brought.
55.	20. persecuted.	prosecuted.
60.	17. as Blasphemy.	as Heresy, Blasphemy.
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64.	34. obeyed.	obeyed.
77.	1. Ecommunicatiō.	Excommunication.
90.	15. fouerers.	fauorers.
98.	7. Common weath.	Common wealth.
144.	15. Bastours.	Pastours.
182.	28. causes.	causers.
195.	13. can much.	can not much.

